

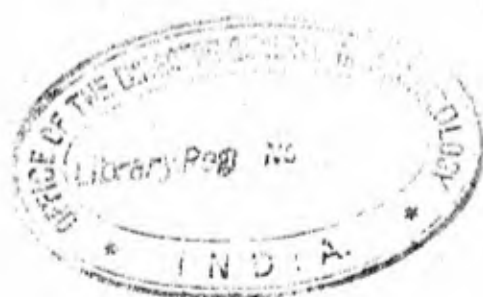
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The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.



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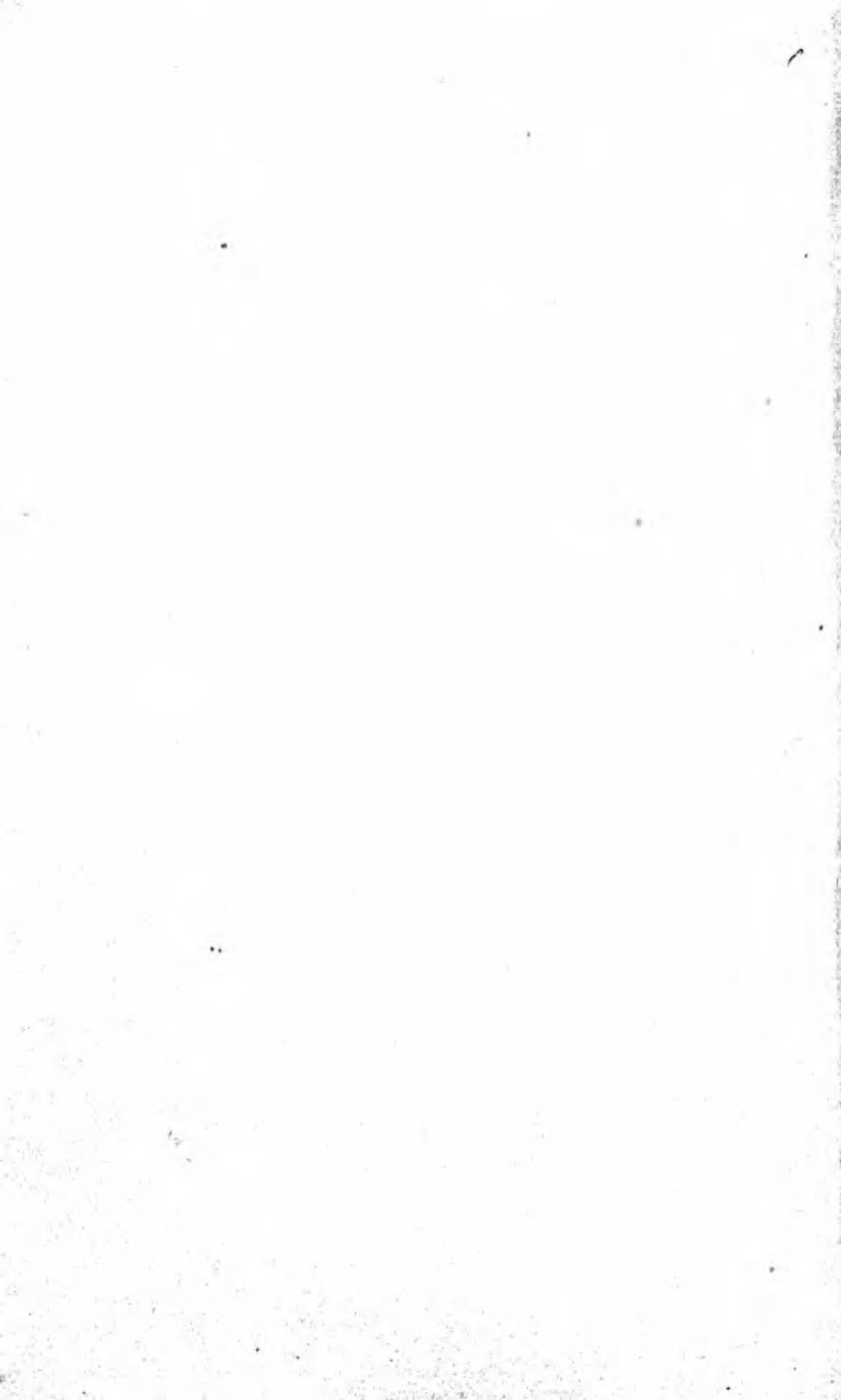
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The Ceylon Antiquary

and

Literary Register.

Published Quarterly.

Vol. IX.

July, 1923.

Part I.

EPITOME OF CEYLON HISTORY

From the Most Ancient Times.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

The Rakshasas.

IN pre-historic times Lanka (the old name of Ceylon) is said to have been inhabited by a race of people called Rákshasas (*lit* "cannibals"). They were governed by a King named Rávaná, whose capital was Lankapura. His power and influence were so great that he is represented in Hindu Poetry as possessing ten heads and twenty arms. The story, in briefest outline, of the destruction of Rávaná and his Rákshasas is as follows:—

Ráma, son of the King of Ayodhya (modern Oude, in India), and his chaste and beautiful spouse, the Princess Sitá, were wandering in the forests of Central India, to which they had been banished, when Rávaná appeared on the scene, captured Sitá while her husband was temporarily absent, and carried her away to Lankapura. Ráma, at the head of a large army of South Indian tribes, set out for Lanka to rescue his wife; and Hanuman, his chief lieutenant, is said to have built the ridge, now called Adam's Bridge, to allow a passage for Ráma's army. After a long siege Rávaná was slain along with many thousands of the Rákshasas, his capital Lankapura burnt to the ground, and Sitá rescued and taken back to India.

The Nágas.

In historic times the aboriginal inhabitants of Lanka were known as Nágas and Yakkhas. They were a comparatively civilised people, ruled by their own Kings and having a settled and regular form of Government.

The Nágas (*lit* "snakes, serpents"), named so presumably because they were snake-worshippers, were confined originally to Nágadípa, the western and northern part of Lanka. They would appear to have been converted in a body to Buddhism as the result of a visit to Nágadípa made by Gautama Buddha. The latter, on this occasion, is said to have amicably settled a dispute over a gem-set throne of gold, for the possession of which Mahodara, a Nága-king, was about to engage in battle with his nephew, Prince Cúlodara.

On a later occasion the Buddha is said to have paid a second visit to Nágadípa, this time to the city of Kelaniya where a Nága King named Mániakkhika held sway. After being suitably entertained at the spot where the Kelaniya Dágaba stands today, the Buddha is described as having proceeded to the district now known as Sabaragamuwa and left the imprint of his foot on Sumanakúta, the modern Adam's Peak.

Thenceforward the Nágas as such disappear from history. What probably happened was that, under the Aryan invasion of the land synchronously with the death of the Buddha, they, along with their fellow-aborigines, the Yakkhas, gradually lost their identity as they lost their power, and, forming alliances with the new settlers, were thenceforth styled and known as Sinhalese.

The Yakkhas.

The Yakkhas (*lit* "demons") were so named probably because they were demon-worshippers. They were more numerous and therefore more powerful than the Nágas, and inhabited that portion of Lanka not included in Nágadípa.

The Buddha, who is said to have twice come to the abode of the Nágas, is also recorded once to have appeared in the domain of the Yakkhas, that is, on the first of his three legendary visits to Lanka. On this occasion, we are told, he, standing on the spot where in later times the Mahiyangana-thúpa was built, began to address a great gathering of the Yakkhas who for some purpose

or other had assembled at their customary meeting-place in the beautiful Mahanāga Park (on the right bank of the Mahaveli-ganga).

Impelled by fear, however,—of what exactly it is difficult to say—the Yakkhas fled to the highlands in the interior and, being unconverted to Buddhism, continued to live their accustomed lives, practising strange rites and performing weird ceremonies as part of their own peculiar religious worship. When the Sinhalese first arrived in Lanka, the King of the Yakkhas was Maha Kālasena, his Queen and daughter were named Gonda and Polamitta respectively, and the Yakkha capital or seat of government was called Lankapura.

In process of time, when Aryan Sinhalese rule was firmly established in the land, the Yakkhas as such ceased to form a separate group by themselves. The majority of them, marrying from, and giving in marriage to, the families of the Aryan settlers, were with the latter gradually merged into one people, professing the same religion and speaking the same tongue, the people known in history as the Sinhalese. The modern Veddas are said to be the descendants of those of the Yakkhas who, disinclined to make common cause with the settlers and refusing to live in subjection to them, forsook the cities and the haunts of civilised men for the wild freedom of the forest life.

THE SINHALESE.

Their origin and manner of arrival in Lanka.

About 600 years before Christ, there was born to the King and Queen of Bengal (in India) a daughter whom they named Suppadevi. When she was grown up the Princess ran away from the Palace and, joining a caravan journeying to the Magadha country, reached the territory then known as Lāla. Here the caravan was attacked by an outlaw or robber-chief named Sinha who, taking Suppadevi as his prisoner, married her.

Suppadevi in time gave birth to a son and daughter, Sinhabāhu and Sinhasivali. When Sinhabāhu was 16 years old he fled from his father's cave in the Lāla forest, taking his mother and sister with him. Happening to meet on the way the Governor of the district—a nephew of the King of Bengal and therefore a cousin of Suppadevi—the fugitives were rescued by him and taken to the capital. Here he married Suppadevi and adopted the two children as his own.

Meanwhile the robber Sinha, maddened by the disappearance of his wife and children, committed such excesses round about the countryside that the King of Bengal had it proclaimed that 3000 pieces of money would be paid as reward to anyone bringing the outlaw's head. Sinhabáhu, desirous of winning the reward, set out to kill his father (though his mother twice tried to prevent him), shot Sinha as he came running forward to embrace his son, and, severing the head from the body, brought it to the capital.

When he arrived the King of Bengal was dead. The Ministers, finding that Sinhabáhu was an intrepid youth and was moreover the deceased Sovereign's grandson, offered the throne to him. Sinhabáhu formally accepted it but soon handed it over to his step-father. Stricken by remorse for the slaying of his father he returned to the country of Lála along with Sinhasivali, and there he built a city which he named Sinha-pura after his father. In time he was crowned King of Lála with Sinhasivali as his Queen.

Many sons were born to these two in due course, the eldest of whom was named Vijaya, the second Sumitta. Vijaya proved to be an evil-conducted youth, so much so that his father was constrained to expel him from the country. Placing Vijaya and some 700 other Sinhalese, as wild and lawless as he, on board a ship, King Sinhabáhu sent them forth upon the sea. They landed at Suppáraka (now Sopára) on the west coast of India, but soon re-embarked and, setting sail, arrived in due course in Lanka, on the same day or year (it is said) as that on which Gautama Buddha died at Kusinára in India, i.e. in B.C. 543.

I. KING VIJAYA.

Reigned 38 years (B.C. 543-505.)

B.C. 543.—Vijaya lands in Lanka with 700 followers.

„ —He meets and later marries Kuveni, a Yakkha Princess.

„ —Kuveni helps Vijaya to overcome her fellow-Yakkhas, the aborigines.

„ —Massacre of the Yakkhas at Sirísavatthu, a Yakkha city.

B.C. 542.—Vijaya, now King of Lanka, founds the city of Tambapanni and makes it his capital.

—Vijaya's Prime Minister, Upatissa, founds the city of Upatissa-gama.

—Kuveni gives birth to a son, Jivahatta, and a daughter, Disala.

- Embassy from Lanka to Madhura, in India.
- Arrival of a Madhura Princess with 700 Madhura maidens, numbers of craftsmen and 1000 families of the 18 Guilds.
- Vijaya discards Kuveni who is then murdered by her fellow-Yakkhas.
- B.C. 505.**—Consecration of Vijaya and the Madhura Princess as King and Queen of Lanka.
- „ —Embassy from Lanka to Sinhapura to look for a successor to Vijaya, who is childless.
- „ —Death of Vijaya.

INTERREGNUM

One year (B.C. 505-504).

- B.C. 505.**—Upatissa, the Prime Minister, administers the Government.
- B.C. 504.**—Prince Panduvasudeva, nephew of King Vijaya, arrives in Lanka accompanied by 32 nobles, from Sinhapura.

II. KING PANDUVASUDEVA.

Reigned 30 years (B.C. 504-474.)

- B.C. 504.**—Accession of Panduvasudeva as King of Lanka.
- „ —Embassy from Lanka to the Sákya King Pandu of Kimbulvatpura in India.
- „ —The latter's daughter, Princess Kasayindevi, arrives in Lanka and marries Panduvasudeva.
- „ —Consecration of Panduvasudeva and Kasayindevi as King and Queen.
- Arrival of the Queen's six brothers, the Princes Anurádha, Dígháyu, Ráma, Rohana, Uruvela and Vijita.
- Prince Anurádha builds Anurádha-gama with a tank near by.
- Prince Dígháyu founds the settlement named Dígháyu
- „ Ráma „ „ „ „ Ráma-gona
- „ Rohana „ „ „ „ Rohana
- „ Uruvela „ „ „ „ Uruvela
- „ Vijita „ „ „ „ Vijita-gama
- Prince Abhaya, the King's eldest son, is appointed Vice-Regent.

B.C.475.— Prince Dígha-Gámani, son of the Queen's brother Dígháyu, marries his cousin, Princess Ummáda-Cittá, the King's daughter.

B.C.474.—Ummáda-Cittá gives birth to a son, Prince Pandukábhaya.

„ —Death of King Panduvasudeva.

III. KING ABHAYA.

Reigned 30 years (B.C. 474-454).

B.C.474.—Accession of Abhaya, eldest son of Panduvasudeva.

„ —Removal and concealment of the infant Prince Pandukábhaya.

B.C.467.—The King's brothers attempt to murder their nephew, the young Prince.

„ —Slaughter of some village boys, the Prince's playmates.

B.C.462.—Second attempt on the Prince's life by his uncles.

„ —Slaughter of some herdsmen, the Prince's companions.

B.C.458.—Prince Pandukábhaya, at the head of an army, sets out to wage war with his uncles.

„ —He abducts and marries his uncle Girikanda Siva's daughter, the Princess Suvannapáli.

„ —Battle of Kalaha-nagara in which Pandukábhaya defeats Girikanda Siva and his other uncles.

„ —Battle of Lohitaváhakhanda, with like result.

B.C.454.—Battle of Dhúmarakkha, with like result.

„ —King Abhaya, suspected of sympathy with Pandukábhaya, is compelled by his brothers to abdicate.

INTERREGNUM.

Prince Tissa as Regent rules 17 years (B.C. 454-437).

B.C.454.—Prince Tissa, 2nd son of Panduvasudeva, appointed Regent.

„ —Pandukábhaya occupies the enemy camp at Dhúmarakkha.

B.C.452.—Pandukábhaya forms an offensive and defensive alliance with the Yakkhas.

B.C.448.—He entrenches himself on Arittha-mountain (*Ritigala*.)

B.C.441.—Siege of Arittha mountain by Pandukábhaya's uncles.

B.C.439.—Battle of Lábugámaka and death of seven of the uncles.

B.C.438.—Pandukábhaya seizes the capital, Upatissa-gama.

„ —Anurádhapura founded by Pandukábhaya.

B.C.437.—Termination of the Regency.

IV. KING PANDUKABHAYA.

Reigned 30 years (B.C. 437-467.)

B.C.437.—Consecration of Pandukábhaya and Suvannapáli as King and Queen of Lanka.

„ —Prince Abhaya, the deposed ruler and uncle of Pandukábhaya, is appointed *Nagara-guttika* or Mayor of Anurádhapura.

B.C.436.—Building of City rampart.

—Suitable residences built near Anurádhapura for the naked ascetics, mendicant monks and other religious sects.

B.C.427.—Lanka divided into three Provinces (Pihiti-rata, Máyá-rata and Rohana-rata) and village boundaries settled.

B.C.407.—Death of Pandukábhaya.

PUBLIC WORKS: Three Tanks were built, viz. Jayavápi, Abhaya-vápi and Gámani-vápi, as well as a number of *Lying-in-Homes* or *Homes of Delivery* for expectant mothers, and *General Hospitals* for the treatment and care of the sick.

V. KING GANATISSA.

Reigned 60 years (B.C. 407-367.)

B.C.407.—Ganatissa, son of Pandukábhaya, succeeds to the throne.

B.C.367.—Death of Ganatissa.

VI. KING MUTASIVA.

Reigned 60 years (B.C. 367-307.)

B.C.367.—Mutasiva, son of Ganatissa, is consecrated King.

—He lays out two fine Parks, the Mahá-Meghavana and the Nandana.

B.C.307.—Death of Mutasiva.

THE ROYAL FAMILY: The King had ten sons—the Princes Abhaya, Devánampiyatissa, Mahánága, Uttiya, Mattábhaya, Mitta, Mahásiva, Súratissa, Asela and Kíra—and two daughters, the Princesses Anulá and Sivalí.

VII. KING DEVANAMPIYA TISSA.

Reigned 40 years (B.C. 307-267).

B.C.307.—Devánampiya Tissa, 2nd son of Mutasiva, is crowned King.

„ —Embassy to the Emperor Asoka of Magadha (in India).

B.C.306.—Return-Embassy from Asoka arrives in Anurádhapura.

„ —Devánampiya Tissa crowned a second time, in full ceremonial.

„ —Arrival of Mahinda Thera (son of Asoka) and founding of Buddhism.

„ —King, Royal Household and People embrace Buddhism.

„ —The King gifts the Mahámegha Park as an *áráma* or monastery to the Buddhist clergy.

„ —Fixing of the religious boundaries and establishment of Buddhism.

„ —First Ordination of Sinhalese—the King's 55 nephews become monks.

„ —Second Embassy to the Emperor Asoka.

„ —Relics of the Buddha brought over from India to Lanka.

„ —Devánampiya Tissa builds the Thúpáráma Dágaba and enshrines in it the Collar-bone relic of the Buddha.

„ —Prince Mattábhaya, the King's brother, and his followers, become monks

B.C.305.—Third Embassy to the Emperor Asoka

„ —The Theri Samghamittá (sister of Mahinda) arrives with other nuns.

„ —Bringing over of a branch of the Sacred Bo-tree under which Gautama attained to Buddhahood.

„ —Planting of the Bo-tree in Anurádhapura.

„ —Prince Mahárittha, the Prime Minister, and his followers become monks.

„ —Princess Anulá (wife of the King's brother Mahánága), and her women followers, become Nuns.

—Devánampiya Tissa's Queen attempts to murder Mahánága and accidentally poisons her own only son, the Prince Royal.

—Flight of Mahánága to Rohana Province.

—Mahánága establishes himself as first King of Rohana with his capital at Mahágama.

—The Frontal-bone Relic of the Buddha brought to Lanka.

B.C.267.—Death of Devánampiya Tissa.

TANKS AND RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS.

[The following were the principal Tanks and Religious buildings constructed during the reign]:

Tanks: (1) Taraccha-vápi, (2) Tissa-vápi (in Anurádhapura), (3) Tissa-vápi (in Rohana).

Religious Buildings: (1) Cetiya (pabbata) Vihára, (2) Digha-cankamana Parivena, (3) Dighasandasenapati Parivena, (4) Hatthálhaka Vihára, (5) Issarasamana Vihára, (6) Jambukola Vihára, (7) Kála-pásáda Parivena, (8) Lóha-pásáda, (9) Mahá Nága Dágaba (or Nága Mahá Vihára), (10) Mahápáli refectory, (11) Mahá Vihára (or Mahá-meghavanáráma), (12) Mahinda-guhá, (13) Marugana Parivena, (14) Pácínáráma, (15) Pathama Cetiya, (16) Phalagga Parivena, (17) Sunhata Parivena, (18) Therapassaya Parivena, (19) Thúpáráma, (20) Tissa-mahá-Vihára, (21) Uddhakandaraka Vihára, (22) Upásiká Vihára, (23) Vessagiri Vihára, (24) Yatthála Dágaba.

VIII. KING UTTIYA.

Reigned 10 years (B.C. 267-257).

B.O.267.—Accession of Uttiya, younger brother of Devánampiya Tissa.

B.C.259.—Death and cremation of the Thera Mahinda.

B.C.258.— „ „ „ „ Theri Samghamittá.

B.C.257.—Death of Uttiya.

IX. KING MAHA SIVA.

Reigned 10 years (B.C. 257-247.)

B.O.257.—Accession of Mahá Siva, younger brother of Uttiya.

B.C.247.—Death of Mahá Siva.

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS: Nagarangana Vihára.

X. KING SÚRA TISSA.

Reigned 10 years (B.C. 247-237.)

B.O.247.—Accession of Súra Tissa, younger brother of Mahá Siva.

B.C.237.—First Tamil Invasion of Lanka by two brothers, Sena and Guttaka, at the head of a large force.

„ —Deposition of King Súra Tissa.

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS: (1) Acchagallaka Vihára, (2) Girinelaváhanaka Vihára, (3) Gonnagirika Vihára, (4) Hatthikkhandha Vihára, (5) Kolambahálaka Vihára, (6) Makulaka Vihára, (7) Nagarangana Vihára, (8) Pácína-pabbata Vihára.

XI and XII. KING SENA AND KING GUTTAKA.

Ruled conjointly 22 years (B.C. 237-215.)

B.C.237.—Accession of the two Tamil usurpers, Sena and Guttaka, as joint Kings of Lanka.

B.C.215.—Prince Asela, younger brother of Súra Tissa, raises a Sinhalese army and drives away the two Tamil usurpers

XIII. KING ASELA.

Reigned 10 years (B.C. 215-205).

B.C.215.—Consecration of Asela as King of Lanka.

B.C.205.—Second Tamil Invasion under Elára, a Cholian from India.

„ —Asela defeated and slain.

XIV. KING ELÁRA.

Reigned 44 years (B.C. 205-161.)

B.C.205.—Accession of Elára as King of Lanka.

—Kelani Tissa, tributary ruler at Kelaniya, murders the High Priest of Kelaniya Vihára.

—Submergence of the sea-coast near Kelaniya.

—Princess Devi, daughter of Kelani Tissa, offered up as a sacrifice to the God of the Sea.

—Death of Kelani Tissa.

—Princess Devi rescued by fishermen of Mahágama.

—Kávan Tissa, tributary ruler at Mahágama, marries Princess Devi who is thenceforth known as Vihára Devi.

—Vihára Devi gives birth to Princes Dutugemunu and Tissa.

—Kávan Tissa raises a Sinhalese army to fight the Tamils.

—Death of Kávan Tissa.

—War between Prince Dutugemunu and his brother Tissa.

- Dutugemunu defeated at the Battle of Cúlanganiya-pitthi.
- Duel between Dutugemunu and Tissa, and the flight of the latter.
- Reconciliation of the two brothers.
- Dutugemunu, at the head of a powerful Sinhalese army, marches out of Rohana to wage war on the Tamils.
- Destruction of the Tamil fortresses lying on the route of Dutugemunu's march.

- Battle of Mahiyangana
- " " Ambatitthaka
- " " Khemaráma
- " " Antarásobbha
- " " Dona
- " " Hálakola
- " " Nálisobbha
- " " Díghábhaya-gallaka
- " " Kaccha-tittha
- " " Kotanagara
- " " Vahittha
- " " Gámanigama
- " " Kumbagama
- " " Nandigama
- " " Khánugama
- " " Tambagama
- " " Unnamagama
- " " Vijitapura
- " " Mahela-nagara
- " " Kahagalagama

Dutugemunu

victorious

- Death of the Tamil warrior Díghajantu.

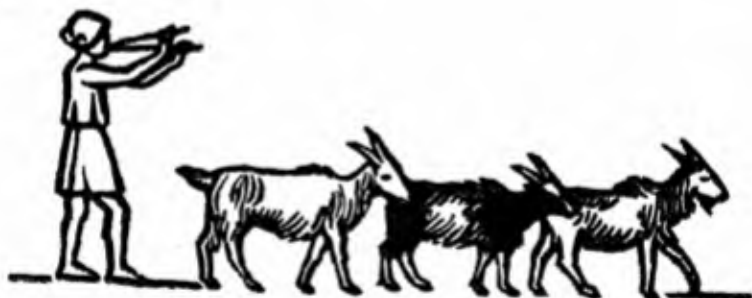
B.C. 161.—Duel between Dutugemunu and Elára.

- „ —Death of Elára.
- „ —Another Tamil Invasion under Bhalluka, the brother of Elára.
- „ —Battle of Kolambahálaka and death of Bhalluka.
- „ —Accession of Dutugemunu as Supreme King of Lanka.

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS.

- (1) Akása-cetiya, (2) Bisóvalu Vihára, (3) Dematahal Vihára, (4) Dora Vihára,) (5) Gamitthavali Vihára, (6) Giriuturuvara Vihára, (7) Kalumuhudu Vihára, (8) Kotagala Vihára, (9) Kutáli Vihára, (10) Luterahalpav Vihára, (11) Mahagamtota Vihára, (12) Niyangam Vihára, (13) Patungalu Vihára. (14) Ratkarav Vihára, (15) Sandagiri Vihára, (16) Seruvila Dágaba, (17) Silápassaya Parivena, (18) Situlpav Vihára. (19) Tissamaha Vihára (or Tissamaharáma).

(To be continued.)



THE PETA-VATTHU.

By DR. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, PH. D.

BOOK III.

(Continued from Vol. VIII, Part IV, Page 301.)

VI. The Peta Story of Serini.

NOW while the Teacher was living at Jetavana, he told the story of the Peti Serini.

It is said that in the country of Kuru, in Hatthinipura, there was a harlot called Serini; and monks from various quarters assembled in that place for the purpose of holding Sabbath services. In other words there was a great gathering of priests. When the people saw this, they prepared many gifts and benefits consisting of sesame seeds, rice and other grains and ghee, butter, honey, and various other foods and were very liberal.

At that time this courtesan, unbelieving and without faith, having her thoughts filled with avarice and sin, when she too was encouraged with the plea, "Come, rejoice in giving this gift of yours," expressed her absolute disapproval with the words: "Why should I give this gift to the shaveling ascetics? Why should I leave something for him who is of no account?"

At a subsequent time she died and was reborn as a Peti behind the ditch of a frontier fortress. Then a certain lay disciple, a resident of Hatthinipura, during the night went to this fortified town in order to trade and at dawn crossed the moat with this purpose. She saw him there and recognized him. Naked, with her body remaining but skin and bones, having a humble appearance, she stood not far off and let herself be seen. He saw her and asked her in a stanza:

1. "Naked and of hideous appearance are you, emaciated and with prominent veins. You thin one, with your ribs standing out, who are you now, being here?"

She in turn made herself known to him in a stanza:

2. "I, venerable sir, am a Peti, a wretched denizen of Yama's region: since I had done a wicked deed, I went from here to the world of the Petas."

Then he in a stanza asked her what deed she had done:

3. "Now what evil deed was done with your body, speech, or mind? In consequence of what act have you gone from here to the world of the Petas?"

She replied in the following six stanzas:

4. "At the public ghats for half a month I was searching for lost articles. Although deeds of charity are a duty, I did not provide for myself a refuge.

5. "In my thirst I approach the river; it becomes empty. During the hot hours I go into the shade; it resolves itself into sunshine.

6. "And a consuming wind, fiery-hot, blows over me. Reverend sir, I deserve both this and another affliction besides.

7. "Kindly go to Hatthinipura and tell my mother: 'I saw your daughter, an unfortunate denizen of Yama's world. Since she committed evil deeds, she went from here to the world of the Petas.'

8. "There are my possessions to the amount of four hundred thousand which, without telling any one, I deposited under my couch.

9. "Then let her give a gift in my name and may she have long life; and when my mother presents a donation for me, may she ascribe to me the offering. Then I shall be happy, blessed in all my desires."

While the Peti told this story, he paid attention to her speech. Then after he had finished his business, he went to Hatthinipura and told the affair to her mother. The redactors of the Holy Scriptures record the incident in these verses:

10. He assented with the words, "All right," and went to Hatthinipura, saying: "I have seen your daughter, a wretched denizen of Yama's world.

11. "On that occasion she advised me—'Kindly tell my mother I have seen your daughter, a wretched denizen of Yama's world.' Since she committed evil deeds, she went from here to the world of the Petas.

12. "'There are my possessions to the amount of four hundred thousand, which without telling any one I deposited under my couch.

13. " ' Then let her give a gift in my name and may she have long life ; and when my mother presents a donation for me, may she ascribe to me the offering. Then I shall be happy, blessed in all my desires.' "

14. Accordingly she then presented a gift and ascribed to her the donation ; and the Petí was happy and of beautiful bodily appearance.

When her mother heard this, she gave a gift to the brotherhood of monks and ascribed the offering to her. Consequently in her good fortune upon receiving this help, she appeared and showed herself to her mother. She narrated her experience, her mother recounted it to priests, who in turn related the story to the Blessed One. The Blessed One made this incident his text and preached a sermon to the assembled congregation. This discourse was profitable to many people.

VII. The Peta Story of the Deer Hunter.

Now while the Blessed One was living in the Bamboo Forest, he told the Peta story of the deer hunter.

At Rájagaha, they say, a certain hunter made his livelihood by shooting and killing deer night and day. He had however a lay disciple as his friend. Since the latter was not able to dissuade him from wickedness all the time, he advised good deeds at night, saying : " Come, friend, refrain from taking life during the night." He abstained accordingly during the night and continued his slaughter only during the day.

At a subsequent time he died, and in the vicinity of Rájagaha he was born as a Vaimánika Peta. During the daytime he suffered great misery ; during the night he moved around, possessed of the five pleasures of the senses. The venerable Elder Nárada saw him and asked him with this stanza :

1. " You are a youth attended by men and women ; at night with the pleasures of your senses you are brilliant ; during the day you suffer from some cause. What did you do in your previous existence ? "

When the Peta had heard him, he told the acts committed by himself and spoke these stanzas :

2. " I, in beautiful Rájagaha, in delightful Giribbaja, formerly was a huntsman, a cruel destroyer of life.

3. "With my broad and strong hands acting a consistent part, I had a wicked disposition; I walked about, always exceedingly grim, delighting in slaying others, and unrestrained.

4. "I, though of such a nature, had a friendly companion, a pious layman of the faith; and he, having compassion on me, restrained me again and again, saying:

5. "'Do not perform an evil deed lest, my dear sir, you come to distress. If you desire happiness after death, put an end to your taking of life, your lack of self-restraint.'

6. "Although I heard the advice of this man who loved happiness and pitied his friend, I did not obey completely his admonition, since for a long time I had found delight in wickedness and was not wise.

7. "Again this very wise man tenderly introduced me to self-restraint with the words: 'If you slay animals during the day, then let them alone during the night.'

8. "So I killed the animals by daytime and with self-control abstained by nights. Now I walk around by night, but during the day I am consumed in misery.

9. "In consequence of that meritorious act I enjoy a celestial night; during the daytime the dogs that had just been driven back run up on all sides to eat me up.

10. "Those who continually are devoted to and firmly attached to the law of the Blessed One, they, I think, will attain Nirvána which is absolutely perpetual, the abode that has no cause."

After the Peta had thus spoken, the Elder told the story to the Teacher. The Teacher made this incident his text and preached a sermon to the assembled congregation. It was just in the afore-said manner.



ANTHONY BERTOLACCI.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

ANTHONY Bertolacci, who was in the Ceylon Civil Service from 1798 to 1814, retiring therefrom as Controller General of Customs and acting Civil Auditor General, and who wrote, as Mr. L.J.B. Turner in one of his lectures on Ceylon during the earlier British period has remarked, "the only work ever written on the economics or economic history of Ceylon," was a Corsican. As I ascertained from some Ceylon records—a *Government Gazette* I believe—his father had "served the royal French Government as a judge in Corsica, and took a prominent part against the Revolution," and subsequently was "President of the Supreme Court of Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction during the time the island was attached to the British Empire." This period I may add was two years, from October, 1794, to October, 1796.

As I was spending the winter of 1921-2 in Corsica, I took the opportunity of endeavouring to find out what there was to be found about this Corsican member of the Ceylon Civil Service. The two documents of which copies are here appended, show the result of these inquiries.

It will be noticed that, besides Pascal Bertolacci, the father of Anthony, two other members of Corsican families are mentioned, Pozzo di Borgo and one of the Peraldi family. Both were enemies of Napoleon, and for that reason pro-British, but Pozzo di Borgo was also an enemy of the patriot, Paoli, and it was to a great extent owing to Sir Gilbert Elliot, the Viceroy, being under the influence of Pozzo di Borgo, and consequently not keeping on good terms with Paoli and his party who were in favour of the British occupation, that we had to evacuate the Island.

It seems that Peraldi, like Bertolacci, had to leave the country, but, like Pozzo di Borgo and his family, he did not suffer in the end for his adhesion to the British cause. Pozzo di Borgo, under the royal government, became a Duke and Ambassador to Russia; the present representative of the Peraldis is a Count; both families have property in Corsica. One of the most conspicuous objects

on the wooded hill above the town of Ajaccio is the pillared portico, resembling a Greek temple, of the Peraldi chapel or mausoleum, and on a high cliff above is the Chateau Pozzo di Borgo, a copy of a wing of the ruined Tuilleries. It was built by a son of the Duke. But the Bertolacci family has disappeared from the island, and its representatives are now most probably completely English.

One way of compensating Pascal Bertolacci for the loss of "*l'heritage de ses enfants*" was to appoint one of them to a post under the British Government, and this course was adopted; with the result that when the Hon. Frederic North, who had been Sir Gilbert's Secretary in Corsica, went out to Ceylon in 1798, one of "*ces enfants*," Anthony Bertolacci, accompanied him as "*Secretary for French correspondence*." He had been an assistant of North's in his Corsican office, and it seems had accompanied him to England when he left Corsica in October, 1796. They arrived in Ceylon towards the end of 1798, and in not much more than six months (6 June, 1799), Anthony had become Postmaster General of the new possession that had become British just when the smaller island, about one seventh the size of Ceylon, had ceased to be so.

Bertolacci had become "*Commissioner of Musters*" as well as Postmaster General in by January, 1800. The latter post he retained for four years but he retained the other until July, 1805, resigning it on 17th Nov., 1804. Meanwhile he had been making improvements in the Post Office, as well as inspecting roads and public works. He had also for five months been "*Sitting Magistrate for the Pettah and Suburbs of Colombo as far as Grandpass*" (3rd Nov., 1802 to 20th April, 1803). He was besides Garrison Storekeeper from 8th Nov., 1803, succeeding Captain William Macpherson, and a member of the Court of Justices of the Peace from 12th June, 1805. He acted as Deputy Paymaster General in 1805 and was succeeded on 30 Jan., 1805, by Edgar Bletterman, a Cape Dutchman. He became Controller General of Customs on 14th June, 1809, and acting Civil Auditor General 30th January, 1811. Whether he was confirmed in the latter appointment and whether he retained it until his retirement three years later I do not know: Mr. Turner thinks he got into trouble with Governor Maitland, and this perhaps accounts for his retirement soon after he had qualified for a pension of £500 a year.

He was evidently a man of some ability, and it is clear that he had plenty and varied scope for his activities. Cordiner, who

travelled in his company from Trincomalee to Colombo on the latter's arrival in the Island from Madras in 1799, testifies to his skill as an artist, and he had exercised it in making some sketches of the Caves of Elephanta when he accompanied the Hon. Frederic North there the previous year on their way out (see '*A Voyage to India*'). He was one of the seventy-two civil and military officers who were subscribers to the address and testimonial given to Cordiner on the chaplain's leaving the Island on 15th May, 1804, but was not one of the fifty-nine contributors to the "fund for the benefit of the families of the soldiers and sailors fallen in Egypt," published in the *Gazette*, and dated 9th June, 1802,—an omission which could hardly be due to any sympathy on his part with Napoleon!

He lived for part of his time in Ceylon at Hulftsdorp, and his house was purchased for the Supreme Court in 1805.

His book, *A View of the Agricultural, Commercial and Financial Interests of Ceylon*, was published in London in 1817. It is now scarce.

I have not been able to ascertain the date of his death, and an inquiry for particulars about him, inserted last year in *Notes and Queries*, did not elicit any response.

But from Ceylon records I ascertained that his second son, Robert William, married at Abbeville in France on 22 June, 1836, "Cecilia Cobham, daughter of the late Joseph Martin, Esq., of Greenwich," and that this son was "an officer of the French Royal Stud." Another son, Frank Robert, married at St. George's, Bloomsbury, on 11 June, 1844, "Amelia Elizabeth, daughter of the late Joseph Sanson, Esq., of Derby," a name that may be French.

In '*The Times*' of 16th August, 1922, there appeared the following announcement:—

Bertolacci.—On the 10th Aug., at Hove, EDWARD BERTOLACCI, late H.M. Customs, son of North Anthony Pascale Bertolacci, of the Treasury, grandson of Anthony Bertolacci, late Comptroller-General of Customs under Lord Guilford in Ceylon, and great-grandson of Pascale Bertolacci, Privy Councillor to Louis XVI., and Judge of the Supreme Court in Corsica.

APPENDIX A.

DÉPARTEMENT
DE LA CORSE

MINISTÈRE DE L'INSTRUCTION PUBLIQUE

Archives Départementales
Communales
Hospitalières et Bibliothèques
Administratives

Ajaccio, le 3 janvier 1922.

CABINET

de

L'ARCHIVISTE

Pascal Bertolacci était Bastiais, ainsi qu'il résulte de la *Storia di Corsica*, de Renucci. Nous livrons dans le tome II de cet ouvrage, page 61 (livre 7, année 1794) qu'un Tribunal Suprême fut créé à Corte, dans le royaume anglo-corse, et l'auteur ajoute :

"Un avvocato generale sedeva presso il medesimo tribunale. Tu nominato a questa carica Giovanni Stefanopoli di Ajaccio ; e a quella di presidente Pasquale Bertolacci di Bastia.

Pour copie conforme,

L'archiviste Départemental

P. GRAZIANI.

Translation.

Pascal Bertolacci was Bastiais (= a man of Bastia), as appears from the *History of Corsica* of Renucci. We read in Tome II of this work, p. 61, (Book 7, year 1797) that a Supreme Tribunal was created at Corte in the Anglo-Corsican kingdom, and the author adds:

"An Advocate General sat on the same Tribunal. There was nominated to this office Giovanni Stefanopoli of Ajaccio, and to that of President Pasquale Bertolacci of Bastia."

APPENDIX B.

NOTE

From

SÉBASTIEN DE CARAFFA

AVOCAT A LA COUR D'APPEL

ANCIEN BATONNIER

BASTIA (CORSE)

M. Bertolacci, dont il s'agit, était originaire de Bastia. Elliot l'avait en grande intimité. Aussi sous le Gouvernement Anglo-Corse occupait-il les plus hautes fonctions. Président du Tribunal Suprême, Conseiller d'Etat Honoraire, il était considéré comme une des principales personnalités de l'île. Le Vice-Roi ne cessait de parler de lui dans les termes les plus flatteurs.

Dans une lettre du 16 Août, 1795, adressé par lui au Duc de Portland, il écrivait : "J'ai trouvé en Corse des hommes d'honneur

inébranlables, prêts à tout risquer et à tout sacrifier pour faire leur devoir. De ce nombre sont M. Bertolacci....”

Quand les Anglais durent quitter la Corse, Elliot s'occupa avec sollicitude des personnes qui s'étaient compromises pour la cause anglaise. Il dressa une liste de celles auxquelles son gouvernement devait accorder une liste de celles auxquelles son gouvernement devait accorder une pension ; en tête se trouvait Bertolacci.

De Londres même, après l'évacuation, il écrivait le 6 Mai, 1797, au Duc de Portland.—

“ J'ai placé trois personnes dans la classe la plus élevée et pour les motifs qui m'ont parus non seulement justifier mais même exiger une pareille mesure ; je leur ai libéralement accordé ce qui m'a paru une ample et libérale provision au de là je le confesse de ce qu'on pouvait donner comme secours et comme moyen de subsistance. J'ai voulu montrer ainsi que non seulement je connaissais leur infortune et leurs sacrifices, mais que je professais pour eux l'estime qu'ils auraient mérité par leur haute situation sous le gouvernement de Sa Majesté et par la fidélité, l'habileté et le zèle dont ils auraient fait preuve d'un manière remarquable depuis le premier jusqu'au dernier moment de notre union avec la Corse. Leur pension est de 400 livres par an et ces personnes sont—Pozzo di Borgo Bertolacci, Président du Tribunal Suprême ou Chef de la Justice en Corse, Peraldi, Conseiller d'Etat.... J'ai eu maintes fois occasion dans mes dépêches de parler des talents éminents et des qualités distinguées de ces personnes. Je me bornerai à ajouter que M. Bertolacci et M. Peraldi ont tous les deux une famille nombreuse, que leurs biens étaient considérables.... qu'ils ont perdu non seulement les revenus actuels de leurs propriétés, mais même l'héritage de leurs enfants ; qu'ils ont donc à pourvoir beaucoup plus qu'à leur subsistance de chaque jour avec la pension qui leur est accordée. Ils vont vivre dans un pays étranger où, je l'avoue, sans prétendre compenser pour eux la perte de leur propre pays et de leurs biens, ce qui est impossible, j'ai voulu qu'ils ne fussent point obligés de renouer complètement la considération et au rang qu'ils avaient au moment où nous les avons connus.”

Ni M. Bertolacci ni sa famille ne sont plus rentrés en Corse depuis.

Il existe à Lucciana, canton de Borgo, une famille Bertolacci d'origine modeste, n'ayant rien de commun avec la famille Bertolacci de Bastia.

PETER ONDAATJE, OF CEYLON.¹

Ph. D. of Utrecht and Leyden.

By MATHEW ONDAATJE—WITH NOTES BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

IT is not often that the name of a native Ceylonese appears in the history of Europe. From various circumstances, it happened that the subject of this memoir took a prominent part in the public affairs of his adopted country, Holland, of which Ceylon was in those days a dependency. He united in himself the Orator, Politician, Lawyer, and Soldier; but he was, *par excellence*, a true Patriot, and an undaunted champion of popular rights and liberties. A brief outline of his history will be interesting to many readers.

Peter Ondaatje, or Quint Ondaatje, as he was commonly called in his native island, was born at Colombo on the 18th of June, 1758. At that time the Coast of Ceylon was possessed by the Dutch, who conquered it from the first European settlers, the Portuguese. The interior of the island still belonged to the native King of Kandy, which city was the Metropolis of his dominions. During the revolution in Holland, at the close of the last century, which drove the governing Stadtholder, William V, to England, the Dutch possessions in Ceylon capitulated to the English, by whom they were retained at the Peace of Amiens in 1802, when the others were restored to Holland. The English, under the command of Lieut-General Sir Robert Brownrigg, the third and one of the best Governors of British Ceylon, acquired by conquest the Kingdom of Kandy in 1815. The whole island has thus been placed, under the Sovereignty of Britain; and under her mild, wise and liberal sway, it is earnestly hoped it will become in a moral, what it is in a physical point of view, the "Eden of the Eastern wave," the "Pearl Drop of India."

The founder of the Ondaatje family in Ceylon, Michael Jurgen Ondaatje, seems to have been a remarkable man. Of an ancient

1. This article appeared in *The Leisure Hour* of March 2nd, 1867; at the foot of it, in the copy I possess, there is a pencil note "written by Mathew Ondaatje." The latter was employed at the Secretariat in Colombo.—A.A.P.

Tamil house, he was born at Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic in Southern India, celebrated afterwards in the history of Lord Clive. He was the eldest son of the Physician of the King of Tanjore, also in the Carnatic, famous as a seat of English learning; and in that capacity he was himself attached to the Royal Household.

He was sent to Colombo at the request of the first Dutch Governor, Adrian van der Meyden, to cure his lady of a disease that had baffled the efforts of the East India Company's Surgeons, the native physicians at Colombo and those sent by the King of Kandy on the application of the Governor. His name was brought to his Excellency's notice by certain merchants of Tanjore, who resorted periodically to Ceylon for the purchase of elephants. This was in 1659, three years after the Dutch occupation of Ceylon.

Michael Ondaatje, on his arrival, found her case an extraordinary one; and while holding out no hope of recovery, promised that no exertion would be wanting on his part. His efforts were successful and gratefully appreciated. The Governor admitted him into the service of the Dutch East India Company and presented him with the appointment of Physician of the town and environs of Colombo, and of the Government Hospital in the Capital. In addition to this reward, His Excellency, who had now become his friend and patron, granted him tracts of land, situated to the east of Colombo, at a distance of four miles from the Fort. He also introduced him to the principal European inhabitants as an accomplished physician, in whom they could repose unreserved confidence.

Dr. Ondaatje, for so he was usually called in his new place of residence, was accordingly obliged to settle at Colombo, where he enjoyed extensive practice both among Europeans and natives, by whom he was held in high estimation. His intercourse with the former led him to renounce his national religion, Hinduism, and embrace Protestant Christianity, to which he became a sincere convert, while some of his descendants were ornaments of the Christian church. He married a Portuguese lady, Magdalene De Croos, born at Colombo, of parents who were natives of Portugal and who had settled in the island during the Lusitanian rule. By her he had three sons and three daughters. On her death in December 1688, he married a native lady, who bore him seven children, three of whom died in the lifetime of their parents. He eventually became the progenitor of a large family in Ceylon,

generally distinguished for ability and personal worth, some members of whom filled important posts under the Government. Various branches of the family have ramified into Europe and the Eastern Archipelago. Doctor Ondaatje died at Colombo in November 1714, full of years and honours, leaving behind him several medical *MSS.*, which he bequeathed to his eldest son by his second wife, who followed his father's profession.

Peter Ondaatje was the elder son of the Rev. William Jurgen Ondaatje,² who was educated for the clerical profession first at the "Colombo Seminary," of which he became subsequently the rector; and he had the distinction of being the only native of Ceylon on whom that important office was conferred. He was afterwards transferred to the University of Utrecht, where he had for his fellow student Mr. Ivan William Falck, who became afterwards Governor of Ceylon, and who ever proved to Mr. Ondaatje a kind friend and benefactor.

Falck combined the wisdom of the politician with the accomplishments of the scholar. His administration, the longest of any of the Dutch Governors, was able and excellent. One of his earliest acts was the Treaty of Peace which he concluded with the Kandyan Monarch, in the very first year of his government, ensuring to the Dutch the unmolested possession of all the places on the Coast. He also introduced order and system into the various public departments, encouraged Agriculture, and carried the cultivation of Cinnamon to such an extent as to free the Company from dependence on Kandy for supplies. He died at Colombo, in 1785, and a monument to his memory is erected in the Dutch Church there.

Rev. W. Ondaatje, after his ordination, and marriage with Miss Hermina Quint, the only child of a citizen of Amsterdam, returned to Ceylon, his native country, in March 1758. He laboured with exemplary zeal and fidelity as a minister of the Gospel, both at Colombo and Jaffna, in the north of the island, officiating in no less than three languages, viz: Dutch, Portuguese and Tamil, which last was his mother-tongue, and in which he was the first to commence in Ceylon a new translation of the Old Testament. In 1769 he was selected from the clergy of Colombo for the office of rector for the 'Seminary,' which office he held till his transfer to

2, Rev. William Jurgen Ondaatje's father was Philip Jurgen Ondaatje, translator of the *Hoff Van Justitie*, the Supreme Court of Justice in Ceylon, and the latter was the son of Dr. Michael Ondaatje and Magdalene de Croos.—*A. A. P.*

Jaffna in 1777 where he died in 1793. He was well known as a pathetic, powerful and practical preacher, and it was seldom that he failed to draw tears from the eyes of his auditors.

Peter Ondaatje, born in Ceylon soon after his father's return from Europe, was taught the rudiments of learning at home, and then was sent to Holland to be educated for the holy ministry. In 1773 (Nov. 16) at the age of fifteen, accompanied by his cousin, the only surviving son of the Rev. Philip de Melo, one of the most learned divines and biblical translators that have as yet appeared in India or Ceylon, he embarked for Europe via Point de Galle and the Cape. At Amsterdam he received a course of instruction for four years in the Latin and Greek schools, himself, as well as his relative, residing at the house of his grandfather, Peter Quint, at whose death, he, by request, assumed the additional surname of Quint. On the completion of his classical education, he attended the Academical lectures in the four faculties of Theology, Philosophy, Medicine and Law, and took a degree in Philosophy and the liberal sciences at Utrecht, on the 15 Nov., 1787. These degrees Quint Ondaatje was the first native of Ceylon to take, and, after a lapse of four score years, he remains unparalleled in this respect, notwithstanding the greater appreciation of education, and the increased facilities of intercourse between Ceylon and Europe.

At an early age, and before he was a householder, he received on account of his pre-eminent merits, February 10th, 1783, the unusual honour of the freedom of the city of Utrecht, whereby he became eligible to all offices and dignities of the state, and entitled to the privileges and liberties enjoyed by the natives of the country.

Imbued, as Quint Ondaatje was, with noble and generous sentiments of patriotism, the deplorable condition of the United Provinces, of which he had just been enrolled a citizen, consequent on the unconstitutional administration of affairs by the Stadtholder William V, was to him a source of deep concern and bitter regret. He therefore resolved on engaging himself in politics, with a view, if possible, to reform the existing abuses in the Government, and to restore to the citizens their constitutional rights and privileges, encouraged in a great measure by the recent successful efforts made by the Americans in the cause of freedom.

To effect these objects, a large portion of the citizens aimed at the fundamental restoration of the constitution, as a *sine qua non*;

and in this great political movement, which occurred at Utrecht in 1785, Quint Ondaatje was for his brilliant talents, great popularity, and personal influence, nominated as one of the representatives of the burghers, and was duly acknowledged as such by the Government. But, having maintained with great zeal and boldness the rights and interests of the people before the council of the City of Utrecht, a criminal prosecution was instituted against him by the Municipal Court of Justice. Through the interposition, however, of his constituents, who made his cause their own, the prosecution against him was eventually abandoned. Subsequently as a reward for his services successively as Lieutenant, Captain, and Major of the Armed Burgher Corps, he was, by the Provincial States of Utrecht, appointed Captain of the Infantry in the regiment of Lieutenant-General Van den Borch, and by the States of the Province of Holland he was created Adjutant-General of the United Holland and Utrecht troops at the time in garrison, Commander-in-Chief of the 'Guides,' and 'Director-General of the Secret Correspondence at the Head Quarters of the General-in-Chief, the Rhingrave of Salru Gordenbach.

On the hostile invasion of the Prussian troops in September, 1787, having under superior orders evacuated the town of Utrecht with the military and burgher garrison, he carried on skirmishes with the enemy till the 2nd October, when he received a significant hint to quit the country as quickly as possible. Wisely, however, instead of following the example of the greater number of the fugitive patriots who sought refuge in France, there to become independent on the niggard bounty of the government, he repaired from Amsterdam to Hamburg where he arrived on the 9th October. From thence, on a secret warning given to him, he again sailed on the 25th of the same month, and, after a most dangerous voyage in the North Sea, he arrived, weary and tempest-tossed, in the harbour of Ostend on the 15th November.

After a few days' rest he went to Brussels, where he received information that by name and in person he had been excluded from the Act of Amnesty promulgated by the States of Utrecht on the 14th November, 1787, after the revolution effected in favour of the Prince of Orange by the Prussian forces, and that by criminal sentence pronounced in the audience of the Council Chamber at Utrecht he had been declared guilty of *lese-majesté*, and therefore infamous and incapable of any office, that he had been banished for

life, and that all his property which might remain after payment of the charges of Justice had been declared forfeited, and without prejudice to such further corporal punishment in case he should fall again into the hands of Justice as the aforesaid crime should have found to have merited.

From Brussels he removed to Ghent, April 9th, 1790. A brief interval was only allowed him. On the night of the 10th June following, the house in which he and a friend, Frederick Von Liebeherr, resided, was surrounded by armed men, and Liebeherr was carried away prisoner to the convent of the Dominicans. Hither Quint Ondaatje accompanied him, determined to share his fortunes, when he himself was arrested on groundless suspicion, but the third day the innocence of both having become evident, the prisoners were not only honourably released, but, as a mark of respect, conducted by a military escort back to the Castle.

Quitting Ghent, which did not appear to afford a quiet place of refuge for patriots, Quint Ondaatje, who disdained no branch of industry, however humble, which might secure him an honourable independence, became engaged as partner in a herring fishery and rope-making establishment at Gravelines, carried on by Bernard Blok, one of the most distinguished of the patriot party in the Province of Holland. Meanwhile, he did not lose sight of his country. Taking up his residence in Dunkirk, he there purchased a printing press of considerable celebrity—that of Von Schelle. From this press issued not a few of those earnest and touching appeals, made from time to time to the French Nation, on behalf of the Dutch refugees in that country.

But the moment it was rumoured in France that the mother-country was in danger, he, hastily abandoning both his press at Dunkirk and his commercial enterprise at Gravelines, enlisted (July, 1792) as a volunteer in the French Legion of Foreigners, solely induced by his attachment to his adopted country. Owing to the jealousy of the senior officers, he was suspended as Captain; but after service in the legion, he was restored to that rank by the General-in-Chief Dumourier, at whose suggestion the corps was raised, and appointed as Captain in the French Army destined for the Holland Expedition, and as Captain adjoint to the Adjutant General. On the 23rd February, 1793, he assisted in the bombardment of Breda, under General Westermann; and, after the capitulation on the 25th, he was the first to occupy the city gate on the following day.

After the celebrated defeat of General Dumourier, General Westermann having been sent to Turnhout to keep the Austrians at bay, Ondaatje placed himself under the command of his successor, General de Vaux, who had established his headquarters at Klundert and whom he assisted in driving back the Prussians to Tilbury. Afterwards at Dunkirk, he served, as a volunteer, in the defence of that city against the invasion of the united English and Austrian forces. On the raising of the siege, he went (Sept. 12) to reside at Calais, where he engaged, at first with a partner, Bellegarde, and afterwards alone, in his favourite occupation—the management of a printing press—licensed by the Council of administration of the District of Calais; and editing, among other works, a literary and political daily journal called the *Courrier de Calais*.

Many of the refugees from the United Provinces were at this time sojourning at Calais and among them Christina, the daughter of Adrian Hoevenaar of Utrecht and a relative of the celebrated Dutch Statesman, De Witt. Her Quint Ondaatje loved with all the passionate devotion of his enthusiastic nature, and a marriage, performed according to the laws of the French Republic before the Municipal Officer of the Commune of Calais, united them on the 7th May, 1794. At the revolution effected in Holland by the operations of the French army in 1795, Quint Ondaatje was officially invited by the States-General of the Batavian Republic to his adopted country, when he disposed of his press to the Citizen Poicterin La Croix, and, after an exile of eight long years, he went to the Hague on the 11th April, 1795, where he was appointed Under Secretary of the War Department, and on the 1st March, 1796, a Director of the Dutch East India Company.

In the latter capacity he left Amsterdam on 6th November following, in order to sail from the Texel to St. Ubes in Portugal, with the object of saving the East India return ships, laden with rich merchandise, which had run into that port from the hands of the English. Having suffered shipwreck on the 18th November, and being brought in by a Bayonne Privateer to the Spanish Harbour of Camarinas, he with his Private Secretary, La Pro, continued his journey by land through Corunna and Porto to Lisbon, where he arrived on the 20th of December.

Here, at Lisbon, in spite of the opposition of the Dutch Consul, and the Director Hartsinck, (both in concert with the Government, which ordered him to quit Lisbon within three days, and

the Kingdom of Portugal within eight days) he saved the East India ships with their lading. On the 16th January, 1797, he commenced his journey from Lisbon to Madrid, where he was presented by the Dutch ambassador, Valckenaar, to the French Ambassador, Periquan, and in due course provided on his departure with a passport and military convoy, he reached the boundaries of France. Hence on 17th February he pursued his journey to Paris where he arrived on the 2nd March, and was entertained by the Dutch Ambassador Meijer. From the French Capital he made his way back to Amsterdam which he reached on the 19th of the same month.

Having been summoned to the Hague by the Executive Directory of the Batavian Republic, he was nominated (Febry. 21st, 1798) Secretary-General of the Police and the Home Correspondence, retaining his membership of the Asiatic Council.

In 1799, he prepared a map of the 'Batavian Republic' with its various departments, circles and districts, which is still referred to as an interesting historical document.

Having, at the end of the year 1799, relinquished his post as Secretary of the Internal Police and the Home Correspondence, he went to Amsterdam (1st January, 1800) to resume his seat in the East Indian Council, and on the 15th May, he was honourably and without further responsibility relieved of this duty. He then took up his residence again at the Hague, where, with a view to provide for his increasing family, he practised as an Advocate of Civil Law (June 19th, 1800) to the emoluments of which were added, in the next year, those of the appointment of Solicitor to the Marine, which he held till the year 1804. After the Peace of Amiens, he was appointed by the Asiatic Council to take possession of the Dutch Settlements in the west of the East Indies, with the rank of Colonel, which he would have attained in 1795, but for the reorganization of the Army about that period and his acceptance of the post of the Under Secretary of War.

In 1806, Quint Ondaatje was nominated Councillor of the Court of Finance of the Batavian Republic, and on 31st August of that year he was appointed President of the Council of Imposts and "Prizes" in the Kingdom of Holland, under Louis Bonaparte, the father of the present Emperor of the French. After the annexation of Holland to the Empire of Napoleon, he was created Councillor of the Imperial Council of Prizes, together with two other Doctors of Law who had been members with him of the Council of the Hague. This appointment he held till the first fall of Napoleon in 1814.

Subsequently to that event—viz. on the 27th May following—he had an audience at Paris of Prince William Frederick, son of the late Stadtholder, who, at the revolution in Holland of the preceding year in favour of the House of Orange, assumed the title of Prince Sovereign of the United Netherlands, and who is now historically known as William I, King of Holland. To this Prince, remarkable for his sterling virtues, military skill and political wisdom, Quint Ondaatje proffered his services. These the Prince having wisely accepted, he together with his family took his departure from Paris to the Hague.

But he was destined to experience how rapidly the zeal of partisans outruns the sentiments of their leader. That which the Prince himself thought right to pass over in oblivion his friends could by no means forgive. Quint Ondaatje, finding that his residence in Holland was likely to be one of embarrassment and peril, solicited a civil appointment in the East Indies. By royal mandate of 9th February, 1815, the name of Dr. Quint Ondaatje was included among the Civil Servants of the first class destined for the East India Service. As the departure of the officials for India was not to take place before the following year, and as he had received no emolument whatsoever since his return from Paris, he, on a presentation of a memorial to his Sovereign, received a donation of 700 florins, and an allowance of 100 florins per mensem by Royal assent, dated 24th April, 1815, until such time as the ships should sail for the East or until he could obtain a suitable situation in Europe.

At the end of March, 1816, he embarked with his whole family on board H.M. Ship of the line "De Nassau" and arrived at his destination on the 4th September following. Whilst at sea he was seized with a stroke of apoplexy, from which he recovered but his health was seriously impaired. He was appointed Councillor of the Supreme Court of Justice of Netherlands, India, on the 17th February, 1817; but this honourable post he held but a short time. He died April 30th, 1818, leaving behind him two sons,³ both of whom distinguished themselves in the Dutch Service in the East.

The Portrait of Dr. Ondaatje represents a shrewd, energetic man, in costume and air like a Frenchman of the Mirabeau type. His mother having been a Dutch lady, he was of fairer complexion than most Orientals.

3. They were Johannes Eliaardus Ondaatje, who discovered the Coal Mines in Borneo and Java, and Peter Philip Portman Ondaatje, of the Engineers, Batavia, who was knighted in 1890 by the King of Holland.—A.A.P.

HOATSON'S SINHALESE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE AND MATERIA MEDICA.

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY T. PETCH.

(Continued from Vol. VIII, Part IV, Page 334.)

THOUGH the preceding Catalogue of plants and other substances used as medicine by the Sinhalese has been extended to a very considerable length, yet I am certain that it is far from containing the whole, for there is scarcely a plant or tree to be met with, which has not some claim to be ranked in the list of medicinals.

I shall now subjoin a list of plants extracted from the foregoing number which are cultivated by the Singalese; that is to say, they take the trouble of collecting some of them from parts of the jungle where they are to be found, and of planting them in the vicinity of their habitations; whilst the seeds of others are sown along with Kooracan (natchenny)¹ in their Henna (i.e. Chena,—Ed.) grounds. Though the vicinity of a Kandian's house in his own language obtains the appellation of a garden, an European will be able to discover as much of the appearance of a garden in any other part of the jungle.

There are only two modes of culture which I have observed practised by the Singalese in the interior of the Island. 1st. The cultivation of rice by the process of irrigation. 2nd. The formation of Henna grounds by cutting down the jungle and clearing a space of the necessary extent. The rice fields are formed wherever a sufficiency of water can be obtained. The Henna fields are generally on the tops of hills, or on slightly elevated situations. The jungle is cut down, a slight fence is made, and the remaining part, when sufficiently dry, is burnt. The ashes serve as manure and destroy insects. The surface of the ground being scraped up by a kind of hoe, or momaty, as it is called, and the larger stones

1. [This term is used by Davy in his account of the district in which Hoatson was stationed.]

removed, the seeds, consisting of Kooracan, mustard seed, and of different oleraceous vegetables, are sown seemingly jumbled together without distinction or separation. Pumpkins, cucumbers, yams and Indian corn (*Zea vulgaris*) are also planted in the same ground.

The Singalese sow in the same description of fields, but separately, a species of rice which does not require water. The different seeds being sown, the Singalese bestow no further care than to watch the fields from the depredation of the birds and the irruptions of the elephants. They never sow on the same spot of ground for a second crop, till after a lapse of some years; but a fresh piece of ground is always pitched upon, and the jungle has to be cleared away as before.

List of Plants cultivated and used by the Singalese as Medicine.

Singalese Names.	Where Planted.
1st. Aba-etta	In the Henna (Chena,-Ed) fields.
2nd. Assamodagan	Near the habitation of the Singalese.
3rd. Adhatoda	do do
4th. Beli-ghas ²	do do
5th. Boulat-wael	do do
6th. Dehi-ghas	do do
7th. Diwul-latu	do do
8th. El-kossamba	do do
9th. Era-mudu-ghas	do do
10th. Gam-miris-wael	do do
11th. Hinguru-piele	do do
12th. Hal-dung-mala	do do
13th. Inghuru	do do
14th. Iruveria	do do
15th. Ingsal	do do
16th. Karal-haebo-ghas	do do
17th. Kapu-komissa-ghas	do do
18th. Khatu-wael-battu	do do
19th. Kaha	do do
20th. Labu	In the Henna fields.

2. *Ghas* signifies an indefinite number of trees, and I believe, is the plural of the word *Gaha*.

Singalese Names.	Where Planted.	
21st. Miris	Near the habitation of the Singalese.	
22nd. Nataraan-ghas	do	do
23rd. Nika	do	do
24th. Alu-kehel	do	do
25th. Pol ghas	do	do
26th. Ratte-Loonoo	do	do
27th. Sevie	do	do
28th. Sarna	do	do
29th. Suendel-ghas	do	do
30th. Sudu-loonoo	do	do
31st. Tipili	do	do
32nd. Tala	In the Hennah grounds.	

The following are the only articles of Singalese medicine exported :—

1st. Aralu	<i>Terminalia chebulic.</i>
2nd. Bulu	do <i>Beleric</i>
3rd. Nelli	<i>Phyllanthus emblic</i>
4th. Kurundu-potu	<i>Laurus Cinnamomum.</i>

The fruit of the three first articles is the part used as medicine. Of the two former it is a cymbiform drupa which is gathered when ripe, and is afterwards dried in the shade by exposure to a current of wind. The fruit of the Nelli is a subrotund berry, or rather a drupa, which contains a nut which is 3 locular and 3 seeded; it is cut into halves and is dried in the shade. The three different articles, when sufficiently dry, are put into a bag mixed together, and are thus exported to the coast of India, where they are used by the Native inhabitants as medicine. The Wedarales say that they may be kept for years without losing their medicinal virtues. The Cinnamon bark as an article of exportation and commerce is well known.

List of different articles imported from the coast of India and in use amongst the Singalese as medicine.

Singalese Names.	How imported.
1st. Abing	In round balls.
2nd. Balal-lunu	In bags in lumps.
3rd. Deye-dare	Thick pieces—Fir timber.

Singalese Names.	How imported.
4th. Elu-marindu	In small wooden boxes.
5th. Gyndegan	do do
6th. Gal-mandae	In bags
7th. Gal-nahara	do
8th. Hirial	In boxes
9th. Karambu	do
10th. Kalu-duru	In bags
11th. Kaipu	do
12th. Korasuani	In bags, a small seed.
13th. Kotamalee	In small bags
14th. Khatukarohine	In bags, a root.
15th. Kotang-alla	do, Root cut into slices and dried
16th. Kelinde-etta	In bags.
17th. Khatukarosan-wael	In bundles
18th. Manosila	In boxes, in lumps.
19th. Nerinchi-alla	In bags, cut into slices.
20th. Palmanikum	In bags, in lumps.
21st. Pooscure	In boxes, common rosin
22nd. Ratte-inghuru	In bags, the root is boiled before drying.
23rd. Rahadia or Rassadia	In flasks
24th. Sadika	In bags or boxes
25th. Sudu-duru	In bags, a small seed.
26th. Seriteka	In bags, in small sticks.
27th. Sahinda-lunu	In wax cases tied.
28th. Siwanguru	In bags, a gummy substance.
29th. Sadilingan	In boxes bound round with wax cloth.
30th. Sudu-passanam	
31st. Sudu-handung	In pieces
32nd. Watchinabi-alla	In bags, cut into slices
33rd. Walanga-sal	In bags, a seed like black pepper
34th. Wemcara-lunu	
35th. Rat-handung	In pieces.
36th. Riditutang	In bags, a hard bark well dried.

There would appear to be no particular season, nor no one stage of the growth of a plant, which the Singalese Wedarales consider better than another when the entire plant or herb is taken

for medicinal purposes, for its selection; but whenever they find the particular plant required, it is taken and used ripe or green. The seeds of a plant will form an exception, for they always use it in a ripe state and often dried and preserved. The leaves, when they are particularized, are taken at two stages of growth; by the word Kolla the Singalese understand full-grown leaves; again, by the word dalu, they understand leaves which have recently shot forth from the buds and before they have acquired their natural rigidity and full growth. Leaves in the latter stage are most frequently preferred, when the expressed juice is wanted for use.

The bark of a tree, from the specimens brought to me, seems to be taken from the trunk or older branches; the cinnamon bark is the only exception which I have met with, for it is taken from the younger branches and never from the stem or old branches for medicinal use. Roots appear to be taken without any regard to the age of the plant, and they are often dried and preserved. Bulbous roots, when they are preserved, are cut into slices and dried in an open veranda by exposure to a current of wind. The leaves of a plant may be preserved by drying in the shade, and then reducing them to a fine powder which is to be kept in a bottle well stopped. Expressed juices may be kept in a bottle well stopped for two or three months.

Singalese notions respecting the seat of Fevers, etc., and their method of treatment.

The Singalese Wedarales ascribe fevers to three different causes, viz: to bile (*Pital*), to wind (*Walat*), and to phlegm (*Celis-mahat*). They are ignorant of the anatomy of the human body and they abhor dissections. However, they have an idea that the liver generates the bile, but how or in what way they know not. The seat of wind, they imagine, is somewhere near the umbilicus, and that of phlegm is near the heart. These, they say, are either disturbed by a cause or morbidly increased by the same, and a fever is the result. Thus they say a person gets a fever from a fright in the dark by devils, from eating too much honey, or cold fruit, such as jack fruit, jambos and the like, from carrying too heavy a load, from the anger of the Gods, etc. But they say that the fevers arising from these causes, and named by them according to what they suppose to be the cause, have their seats in the three first, viz: bile, wind, or phlegm.

Fevers of the more continued forms, or those they consider the severest fevers, they distinguish by the term *Javery* or *Jurey*, and the slighter fevers they call *Una*. There are eight fevers which they distinguish by the name *Javery* or *Jurey* :

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1st. <i>Watat Javery</i> | A fever from wind. |
| 2nd. <i>Pitat Javery</i> | A fever from bile. |
| 3rd. <i>Celismahat Javery</i> | A fever from phlegm. |
| 4th. <i>Agantugat Javery</i> | A fever from a fright. |
| 5th. <i>Sanipalat Javery</i> | A fever from Sany Yakka: an evil spirit supposed to have its habitation in a tree. |
| 6th. <i>Pipasat Javery</i> | |
| 7th. <i>Dahat Javery</i> | |
| 8th. <i>Taremat Javery</i> | |

The three last named are supposed by the Wedarales to arise from eating cold fruit, bad victuals, the anger of the Gods, etc.

The Wedarales never attempt innovations in prescribing for the relief of their patients, but strictly follow the directions put down in their books.

The weights used by the Wedarales are *Madaras*, or *mandsiadis*, and *kalandas*.

1 *Madara* or *Mandsiadi* is equal to 4 grains.

20 *Madara* make 1 *kalandā*.

The *Madara* is the seed of the *Maragaha* of the Singalese, the *Mandsiadi* of the Malabars, and *Adenanthera pavonina* of Linnaeus, and weighs exactly four grains.

The *Kalanda* is a suppositious weight.

Fluids are measured by what they call the bamboo measure, which is somewhat more than an English pint.

Singalese Remedies for Watat javery, or a fever arising from wind.

Singalese Names.	Lin. genus and species.
Take of	
Elkossamba-mool	.. <i>Melia sempervirens</i>
Wangmutu-alla	.. <i>Menispermum cordifolium</i> ^s
Baebila-mool	.. —

3. [Two lines have evidently been telescoped here. Compare recipe No. 3.]

Singalese Names.

Lin. genus and species.

Khotamalee

.. *Coriandrum sativum*.

Sid-inghuru

.. *Amomum Zingiber*, of each a handful.

Wateru

.. River water, 4 measures.

Pound in a rice pounder, and boil from 4 measures to one, and strain through a cloth. 1/3 a dose in the morning fasting.

Another.

Take of

Miris

.. *Piper cubebo*

Wadakaha

.. —

Sid-inghuru

.. *Zingiber siccatum*.

Bing-kohembo

.. —

Aralu

.. *Terminalia chebule*

Wagapool

.. *Piper longum*.

Khatuharohine

.. of each a handful.

Wateru

.. River water, 8 common teacupfuls.

Pound in a rice pounder and boil in a clean chatty from 8 cupfuls to one cup. 1/3 to be given in the morning lukewarm.

Another.

Take of

Beli-mool

.. *Crataeva marmelos*.

Wangmutu-alla

.. *Andropogon schoenanthus*.

Rassakinda-wael

.. *Menispermum cordifolium*

Sid-inghuru

.. *Zingiber siccatum*, of each a handful.

Wateru

.. River water, 8 tea cupfuls.

Pound in a rice pounder, and boil from 8 cupfuls to one cup. 1/3 to be given every morning and evening as a dose with a little Tipili, (Long pepper).

Remedies for Pitat Javery or fever from Bile.

Singalese Names

Lin. genus and species.

Take of

Wangmutu-alla

.. *Andropogon schoenanthus*.

Rat-handung

.. Red sandal wood.

Rassakinda wael

.. *Menispermum cordifolium*.

Sid-inghuru

.. *Zingiber siccatum*

Iramussu-mool

.. —

*Singalese Names.**Lin. genus and species.*

Kotang-alla	..	—
Welmi-mool	..	<i>Glycyrrhiza glabra</i> , of each a handful.
Wateru	..	River water, 8 tea cupfuls.

Pound in a rice pounder and boil in a clean chatty from 8 tea cupfuls to one cup. 1/3 to be given in the morning mixed with a little honey.

Another.

Take of

Nuga-mool isma	..	—
Oukdandu-isma	..	Sugar-cane juice, of each a tea cupful.

Mix, and boil to one cupful to be given as dose mixed with a little honey.

Another.

Take of

Sid-inghuru	..	<i>Zingiber siccatum</i>
Khotamalee	..	<i>Coriandrum sativum</i> , of each as much will lie on the fingers.
Wateru	..	River water, 3 tea cupfuls.

Bruise in a rice pounder and boil to one tea cupful. 1/8 a dose on the accession of the fever paroxysm.

Remedies for Oelismahat Javery, or a fever from Phlegm.*Singalese Names.**Lin. genus and species.*

Take of

Wangmutu-alla	..	<i>Andropogon schoenanthus</i>
Sid-inghuru	..	<i>Zingiber siccatum</i>
Baebila-mool	..	—
Dewe-duru	..	<i>Anethum panmorium</i>
Diamitta	..	—
Daluwa-mool	..	<i>Canna indica</i>
Wagapul	..	<i>Piper longum</i> , of each $\frac{1}{2}$ a handful.
Wateru	..	River water, 8 tea cupfuls.

Pound in a rice pounder and boil to one tea cupful. 1/3 mixed with a little honey to be given in the morning as a dose.

Another.

Take of

Dungaele-mool	.. —
Rassakinda-mool	.. <i>Menispermum cordifolium</i>
Kossamba-mool	.. <i>Melia sempervirens</i>
Wangmutu-alla	.. <i>Andropogon schoenanthus</i>
Aralu	.. <i>Terminalia chebulic</i>
Deweduru	.. <i>Anethum panmorium</i>
Kotang-alla	.. —
Wagapul	.. <i>Piper longum</i>
Aehelle-potu	.. <i>Cassia fistula</i> , of each $\frac{1}{2}$ a handful.
Wateru	.. River water, 8 tea cupfuls.

Pound in a rice pounder and boil to one cupful.
 1/3 a dose to be given in the morning. Operation laxative.
 When the febrile heat is great,

Take of

Khatu-wael-battu	.. —
Rassakinda	.. <i>Menispermum cordifolium</i> .
Wangipola	.. <i>Justicia adhatoda</i> .
Diamitta	.. —
Sid-inghuru	.. <i>Zingiber siccatum</i> , of each a handful.
Wateru	.. River water, 8 tea cupfuls.

Pound the different articles in a rice pounder; mix with the water in a clean chatty, and boil to one cupful.
 1/3 a dose in the morning; no sensible purgative effect, but diminishes febrile heat,

or

Take of

Nataraan-mool	.. <i>Citrus medica</i> .
Sid-inghuru	.. <i>Zingiber siccatum</i> .
Nelli	.. <i>Phyllanthus emblic</i>
Daluwa-mool	.. <i>Canna indica</i> , a handful of each.
Wateru	.. River water, 8 tea cupfuls.

Bruise the different articles and boil to one cupful.
 1/8 a dose; diminishes febrile heat.

Remedies for Sanipatat Javery, etc.

Singalese Names.

Lin. genus and sp.

Take of

Kossamba-netti	.. <i>Melia sempervirens</i> .
Imbul-netti	.. <i>Gossypium floribus purpureis</i> .

<i>Singalese Names.</i>	<i>Lin. genus and species.</i>
Adhatoda-netti	.. <i>Justicia adhatoda.</i>
Aralu	.. <i>Terminalia chebula</i> .
Nelli	.. <i>Phyllanthus emblica.</i>
Inghuru	.. <i>Amomum Zingiber.</i>
Patpadagam	.. <i>Hedyotis herbacea</i> , of each a handful.
Rat-handung	.. Red sandal, a little.
Iruveria-mool	.. —
Nelung-alla	.. —
Welmi-mool	.. <i>Glycirriza glabra.</i>
Khotamalee	.. <i>Coriandrum sativum.</i>
Khatukarohine,	— of each a handful.
Wateru	.. River water, 4 measures.

Bruise in a rice pounder, and boil to one measure and strain. 1/3 to be given every morning. This medicine when prepared is called Soondoos-Kassaie.

Another.

Take of	
Wangmutu-alla	.. <i>Andropogon schoenanthus.</i>
Sid-inghuru	.. <i>Zingiber siccatum.</i>
Kotamalee	.. <i>Coriandrum sativum.</i>
Khatu-wael-battu	.. —
Morunga-mool	.. <i>Hyperanthera moringa</i> , of each 4 madara.
Dodang-embul	.. <i>Citrus medica</i> , a little or q.s.
Grind on a curry stone with the sour juice. 1/3 a dose as a laxative every morning,	

or

Take of	
Kossamba-curu	.. <i>Melia sempervirens.</i>
Dung-aele-mool	.. —
Rassakinda-mool	.. <i>Menispermum cordifolium.</i>
Sid-inghuru	.. <i>Zingiber siccatum.</i>
Wangmutu-alla	.. <i>Andropogon schoenanthus.</i>
Aralu	.. <i>Terminalia chebulic.</i>
Bulu	.. <i>Terminalia beleric.</i>
Nelli	.. <i>Phyllanthus emblic</i> , of each 5 madara.
Wateru	.. River water, 7 tea cupfuls.

First bruise the articles in a rice pounder and boil to one tea cupful. 1/3 to be given every morning, as a laxative, with a little honey or sugar.

Sinhalese remedies for Fever in general.

<i>Sinhalese Names.</i>	<i>Lin. genus and species.</i>
Take of	
Karambu	.. <i>Caryophyllus aromaticus.</i>
Wassa wasi	.. Mace.
Sadika	.. <i>Necus moschata.</i>
Sudu-duru	.. —
Kalu-duru	.. —
Tipili	.. <i>Piper longum.</i>
Assamodagan	.. <i>Apium petrosalinum.</i>
Welmi	.. <i>Glycirriza glabra.</i>
Kotang-alla	.. —
Akraputta	.. —
Massang	.. —
Kaipu	.. Gum Catechu. ⁴
Inghuru	.. <i>Zingiber.</i>
Miris	.. <i>Piper cubebo.</i>
Aralu	.. <i>Terminalia chebulic.</i>
Bulu	.. <i>Terminalia beleric.</i>
Nelli	.. <i>Phyllanthus emblic.</i>
Khotamalee	.. <i>Coriandrum sativum.</i>
Kalanduru-alla	.. <i>Andropogon schoenanthus.</i>
Hinguru-pieli-alla	.. — of each 5 madara.
Jayapala	.. <i>Croton tiglium.</i> , 25 kalanda.
Sine hakaru	.. Jaggery, 50 kalanda.

Grind on a curry stone for one day with sour orange juice, for another day with honey, and form the mass into pills of the size of a peppercorn.

1 pill a dose as a diaphoretic.

The Wederales say that the preceding pills are particularly serviceable in the ardent fevers when the heat is high, the mouth dry, etc. In such cases one pill may be given dissolved in the

4. The wederales say that the Kaipu is prepared from the arecanut of this island by the natives of the coast of India.

expressed juice of Rassakinda-kolla and Beli-kolla mixed with a little cocoanut water.

If the fever is not lessened soon,

Take of

Kinda-mool	.. <i>Menispermum cordifolium</i> .
Aetdemata-mool	.. —
Beli-mool	.. <i>Crataeva marmelos</i> , of each a handful.

Wateru .. River water, 8 tea cupfuls.

Bruise and boil in a clean chatty to one cupful, and strain through a cloth. 1/3 a dose with one of the above pills dissolved in it, every morning.

When the stomach is irritable with vomiting,

Take of

Olinda-kolla .. *Abrus precatorius*, a handful,
express the juice, dissolve one of the preceding pills in it, and give to the patients to swallow.

Operation laxative.

(To be Continued.)



Notes & Queries.

GLIMPSES OF CEYLON IN DUTCH TIMES.¹

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.E. (Retired).

AS neither Mr. R. G. Anthonisz nor his successor, the present Government Archivist, has answered my queries as to the identity of the Dutch officials who were in office when Colonel Edward Hamilton paid his two involuntary visits to Galle and Colombo in 1755 and 1767, I am constrained to answer them myself, being now able to do so.

In 1755, the Commander of Galle was Casparus de Jong, who built the Dutch Church there. It had just been completed (1752-4), and Colonel Hamilton must have seen its spick and span white gables shining in the brilliant sunlight. The Governor of Ceylon in 1767 was Iman Willem Falck, (1765-1785).

This information may prove interesting, though it might have been more interesting if I had been able to include it in my original note.

ENDURU.

By T. PETCH.

THE Rev. S. G. Perera in his "Portuguese influence on Sinhalese speech" (*Ceylon Antiquary*, VIII, p. 57) derives "*enduru*," "dill," from the Portuguese *Endro*. It may be noted that "*duru*" occurs in other Sinhalese botanical names, chiefly of plants of the order *Umbelliferae*. For example, we have

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pp. 42-3. (July, 1921.)

"An-duru"	Fennel	<i>Foeniculum vulgare</i> Gaertn.
"Dewa-duru"	Fennel	do do
"En-duru"	Dill	<i>Peucedanum graveolens</i> Benth.
"Heen-duru"	Dill	do do
"Maha-duru"	Aniseed	<i>Pimpinella Anisum</i> L.
"Sudu-duru"	Cummin	<i>Cuminum Cyminum</i> L.
"Wal-enduru"	—	<i>Bupleurum virgatum</i> W. & A.
"Kalu-duru"	Black Cummin	<i>Nigella sativa</i> L.

Moon gave "aenduru," with the species

"Heen-aenduru"	Dill	<i>Peucedanum graveolens</i> Benth.
"Rata-aenduru"	Fennel	<i>Foeniculum vulgare</i> Gaertn.
"Wal-aenduru"	—	<i>Bupleurum virgatum</i> W. & A.

Attygalle (*Sinhalese Materia Medica*, pp. 87, 88) gives "Duru" or "Sudu-duru" for *Cuminum Cyminum*, and "Kalu-duru" for *Nigella sativa*. But he states that "Maha-duru" is Fennel (see Customs statement below). For Dill, he cites "Satakuppa," and does not give any Sinhalese name for Aniseed.

These names are not very strictly applied in the bazaars. Specimens grown from seed purchased as "Enduru" by the Secretary of the Agricultural Society were, correctly, Dill, *Peucedanum graveolens*. Similarly "Heen-duru" seeds were the same species. But seeds from the same source supplied as "Sudu-duru" were again *Peucedanum graveolens*, instead of Cummin. Seeds purchased in the Kandy bazaar as "Maha-duru" were Fennel, *Foeniculum vulgare*, instead of Aniseed; and others purchased on another occasion as "Dewa-duru" were Caraway, instead of Fennel.

As most of these seeds are imported, enquiry was made at the Customs, and the reply was received that "Fennel seed is called Aniseed ('Mahaduru') when imported from Calcutta, and 'Enduru' when imported from Bombay. Both kinds are classified under one head, Fennel seed."

Naturally, this official botany provoked some amusement, but on obtaining seeds of Bombay "Enduru" and Calcutta "Mahaduru" from the Customs, it was found that they were both really Fennel. Thus, although Attygalle's statement that "Maha-duru" is Fennel appears to be botanically incorrect, it nevertheless correctly represents the substitution which is occurring at the present day.

ALAGIYAWANNA MOHOTTÁLA.

By S. G. P.

A recent edition of the *Kusa Játaka* (1922) shows that even modern editors of the Sinhalese Classics make little use of historical research. For instance, it used to be said that the title of *Mohottála* or *Mukaveti* invariably given to Alagiyawanna designates the office held by the poet under the Dutch Government; that he received that office from Rája Sinha II at the instance of the Dutch. To these misstatements was also attached a piquant story greatly to the discredit of the Sinhalese Bard.

"It is said," says Mudaliyar Gunasekara, and many an editor of the *Kusa Játaka* said it before and since, "that Alagiyawanna was invested with much authority and had the power to sentence to death a number of persons not exceeding six at a time, and that accordingly a low-caste man named Alagiya who, on being asked for his name, impertinently replied 'it is the same as your own,' was ordered by him to be put to death by his two feet being tied to the trunks of two adjoining arecanut palms brought together by ropes which were afterwards cut asunder, so that the man's limbs were torn in two by the receding force of the two trees."¹

So long as these inaccuracies were not pointed out, the editors of Alagiyawanna's poems had an excuse for retailing these yarns; but that very painstaking and scholarly student, the late Mr. D. W. Ferguson, showed beyond all manner of doubt that Alagiyawanna's title had nothing to do with the Dutch, that it was, as a matter of fact, the Portuguese who employed Alagiyawanna as *Mohottála*. Mr. Ferguson discovered in the British Museum a Manuscript despatch of Philip III of Portugal which established the fact beyond doubt. The despatch, dated 24th March, 1620, is addressed to the Viceroy of India, Conde do Redondo, and the King informed him therein that Alagiyawanna "*Motiar do tombo*" had applied to him for the title of "*Motiar of the King's Fazenda*," and other favours. The King asked the Viceroy's advice on the matter in this wise:—

1. *Kusa Játaka Kavyaya*, edited by Mudaliyar A. M. Gunasekara: Introduction.

"Friend, Count Viceroy, I, the King send you all greeting as him whom I love.

"On the part of Dom Jeronimo de Aligiamana Motiar of the Tombo of the lands and villages of the Island of Ceylon a petition has been presented to me, in which he begs for the title of Motiar of my Fazenda, and that the Factor of Columbo continue to him the allowance and ordinary sustenance that the General and the Vedor da Fazenda commanded, and that there be restored to him the portions of the villages and lands that Dom Nunes Alures Pereyra when General of Ceylon took from him, they having been confirmed to him by the Camara and Junta of villages.

"Having seen this claim of his I have thought fit to remit it to you, and request you to consider it on receipt, and advise me thereupon as to what you think right by the List of rescripts.

"Written in Lisbon on the Twenty-fourth of March, One thousand Six hundred and Twenty."

From this letter it is clear that the poet's petition was made after Nunes Alvares Pereyra had ceased to be General (1618), and that it reached the King in the beginning of 1620. It was therefore written in 1619 during the generalate of Constantine de Sa de Noronha in whose honour was composed the *Kustantinu Halana*, an elegant Sinhalese poem which there is some ground for attributing to Alagiyawanna.

The name Dom Jeronimo, by which Alagiyawanna is referred to in the king's despatch and in certain Dutch translations of Portuguese documents brought to light by the late Mr. F. H. de Vos, is the name which Alagiyawanna took at his baptism. The fact of his conversion to Christianity and the manner of it are narrated by Tavernier. In 1676 Tavernier published a *Relation of Six Voyages to Turkey, Persia and the Indies*, in the course of which he says:—

"Some years after the King (Don Juan Dharmapála) had become a Christian, a very accomplished man and good native philosopher named Alegamma Motiar, as one might say Master of the Philosophers, after having conversed some time with the Jesuit Fathers and other Priests at Colombo, was inspired to become a Christian. With this object he went to see the Jesuit Fathers, and told them that he desired to be instructed in the Christian faith, but he inquired what Jesus Christ had done and left in writing. He set himself then to read the New Testament with so much

attention and ardour, that in less than six months there was not a passage which he could not recite, for he had acquired Latin very thoroughly. After having been well instructed, he told the Fathers, that he wished to receive Holy Baptism, that he saw that their religion was the only good and true one, and such as Jesus Christ had taught, but what astonished him was, that they did not follow Christ's example, because according to the Gospel, he never took money from anyone, while they on the contrary took it from everyone, and neither baptised nor buried anyone without it. This did not prevent him from being baptised, and from working for the conversion of the idolators afterwards."³

Tavernier speaks presumably from hearsay, and probably from reports current after the poet's death, for it is only in his third journey (1643-49) that he went further south of Agra and Golconda. He had, moreover, the unpleasant habit of inserting his own comments into what he heard tell.

The statement that Alagiyawanna had acquired Latin very thoroughly might seem an exaggeration. But if he read the New Testament at all he must have read it in Latin, for there were no Portuguese translations in those days. The Vulgate Latin is easily understood by a Portuguese. And Tavernier himself records that the Jesuit Fathers of the College of Colombo "found that the youth of Ceylon were so quick and intelligent that they learnt in six months, more Latin, Philosophy and other sciences than Europeans acquire in a year, and they questioned the Fathers with such subtlety and so deeply, that they were amazed."

Not the least interesting bit of information recorded by Tavernier is Alagiyawanna's remark about what are called "Stole fees." Brought up in a religion with no clergymen or ministers, properly so called, in which the *Bhikkhu* is, as the word implies, an "almsman," a recluse without parochial obligations, who would not so much as touch, even literally, any money, it is not surprising that the would-be convert found the Christian priest "who serves the altar and lives by it," as said St. Paul, a stumbling block. And it is perhaps not without some satisfaction that the Protestant Frenchman, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, found himself able to tell such a spicy story, of missionaries of a race and religion different from his own.

Alagiyawanna's best known poems were composed before his conversion. The three *Hatanas*—*Kustantinu Hatana*, *Parangi Hatana* and the *Maha Hatana*—are also attributed to him by some,

3. *Travels in India* by Jean Baptiste Tavernier translated by V. Ball II. 188-189.

but as none of these have as yet been critically edited, there is no means of forming even a tentative opinion on the subject. Dr. P. E. Pieris gives an English rendering of two of them in his well-known work *Ribeiro's Ceilao*. From a short notice of the *Kustantinu Hatana* contributed to the Asiatic Society by Mudaliyar F. W. de Silva, one gathers that the *Kustantinu Hatana* has many similarities, in wording and concepts, with Alagiyawanna's other works such as the *Kusa Jataka*, *Subhasita* and *Sevul Sandesaya*; that in literary merit it is not unworthy of the great poet, being an "elegant composition," with a "chaste and beautiful *alankāra*;" and that it is unquestionably the production of a Christian.⁴ The *Maha Hatana*, on the other hand, he describes as "inferior in literary merit to the native Christian poet's composition" and ascribes it to Kirimetiyave Disa-meti.⁵ The *Parangi Hatana* refers to events of a far later date to be the work of the author of the *Kusa Jataka*.

However that may be, "it is evident," wrote Ferguson, "that it was by the Portuguese, and not by the Dutch, that the poet secretary was employed; and, as the Hollanders were not in a position to undertake *tombo* making in Ceylon until half-a-century later, it is extremely improbable that Alagiyawanna was then alive. Nor, had he been, is it likely that the Dutch would have consulted Rāja Sinha on the subject." The cruelty attributed to Alagiyawanna in the traditional story seems thus to be devoid of foundation.

TRADITION AS TO THE ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE OF BATTICALOA.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.O.S. (Retired).

THE following is the substance of a lecture by the late John Allagacone delivered at Batticaloa on 20th December, 1872:—

"The subject... is certainly one of a very interesting character when the facts are correctly gleaned, carefully studied, and system-

4. Cf. Introduction :

1. In perfect love I worship the Father, Son and Spirit—the Triune God who changeth not;
2. And the Lord Jesus Christ, gentle and good, who hath given his sacred feet as the crown of created man.
2. Sprung from the womb of Maria the Virgin, a dazzling flame from crystal rare
Ribeiro's Ceilao, p. 209.

5. *Journal C.B.R.A.S.* 45, p. 135-6.

atically arranged : but in the absence of sufficient materials either in the shape of records or any intelligent oldest resident, I am sorry to observe, I have been put to no small difficulty in obtaining any correct idea or even a glimpse of light on the subject. Ever since it was assigned to me, it has been my faithful endeavour to gather information here and there : and I have been carefully watching the sight of a grey-haired head or a wrinkled face from whom, I thought, I may chance to have a store of traditional knowledge of this place. Though I met a few and spent hours with them, yet it was to little purpose. The natives of Ceylon in general, and of Batticaloa in particular, have so little in common with the past, and feel such little curiosity regarding the sayings and doings of their progenitors, that it is almost a hopeless task to glean from them any of the traditionary lore so abundant in other countries. Thus I have been destined to build up an edifice without any strong foundation and sufficient materials.

"The aborigines of Batticaloa are supposed to be *Thimilas* and *Veddahs*, the former occupying *Thimilativu*, a village within a mile of *Pulliantivu*, and the latter settling on the opposite or western shore of the Lake, calling their villages after names owned by them, such as *Kannan*, *Kudah Vavunau*, *Thivu*, *Manky*, *Kattu*, and on the eastern shore *Kattankudy*. These *Thimilas* were then the ruling powers, though tributary to the great potentates, the *Kings of Kandy*, so famous in the history of the past for valour in war and cruelty in peace ; the annals of whose line and dynasty are stained with horrors unsurpassed in the story of ancient or modern times.

"In process of time, a party of *Mukkuvas* consisting of seven clans or *kuddi* came once from the far North Jaffna to Batticaloa. It is not yet known whether they emigrated in search of employment and a more favourable locality or not ; but report states that they fled from justice, having perpetrated some murderous deed in their own land. However, they came here and settled in *Manmonái Pattu*. Some shipwrecked *Moors* or *Tuluks*, having landed on the shore, espied the dwelling or huts of a *Veddah* called *Kattau* near *Punochimunai*, by means of a thin column of smoke from his fire ; and seeing that the new territory was beautiful and plenteous, settled at *Kattau-Kudierupu*. Their next step was in conjunction with the *Mukkuvas* to eject the *Thimilas* by seizing and dethroning their king.

"To effect this artfully and with success, they resorted to a strange and cunning plan : they asked the king of the *Thimilas* leave to perform a theatrical representation before his Court, in which one act of the drama represents the murder of the fictitious monarch. The plot succeeded, for leave having been granted, the representation began, and the real monarch fell a victim instead of the fictitious one ! This sad scene over, the frightened *Thimilas* fled to beyond *Panichankani*, where to this day is seen a boundary stone of grey granite (at a place called *Thompottacuda*) which they there set up, as a mark of division of territory between their lands and those of the allied *Moors* and *Mukkuvas*.

"After their pursuit of the hunted Thimilas, the Moors and Mukkuvas returned; and being met by their relations and friends on their way back, they celebrated their victory at a place which ever since has borne the name of Chandivellie, where an extensive Coconut Estate is now situated. After the victory comes the reward; and the Moors, having been of such service to the Mukkuvas, were, in recognition of their valour and services, offered for their choice either *gold, lands, or women*.

"The wily Moors, knowing the value of the ties of *consanguinity*, chose the last; and to each clan of the seven the Mukkuvas gave one of their women. But such an unholy alliance was not in the natural course of events to last for ever, for, Moors and Mukkuvas are to the present day as distinct and divided a race as when they plotted, planned and accomplished the murder of the Thimila King."

According to Casie Chetty, the Timilár are a caste of fishermen or boatmen. In the *Tombo* for the District of Jaffna for 1790, the number of Timilár males between the ages of 16 and 70 was 576. The Census not recognizing caste, it is impossible to say what the numbers of the Timilar population of the Northern or Eastern Province is at the present day. Casie Chetty says nothing about the settlement at Batticaloa of Timilar. There is a village in the Karaichchi division near Elephant Pass called Timilamadam and I think Kurincháttivu in the same division, also near Elephant Pass, is inhabited by the same caste. The population of the two is about 200.

FLYING THROUGH THE AIR.

By A. M. HOCART.

[THE following note by Mr. A. M. Hocart, Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon, appears in the April issue of the *Indian Antiquary*.—Ed., C.A.]

The commonest miracle of Buddhist literature consists in flying through the air, so much so that the Pali title *arahant*, 'one who has attained the *summum bonum* of religious aspiration,'¹ 'a saint,' has given rise to the Sinhalese verb *rahatve*—which means 'to disappear,' 'to pass instantaneously from one point to another.'² In fact flying through the air has become the test of *arahatship*.

1. The Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary*.

2. *Rahateenavā*; *mama dān metana innavānam me velāḍe Ingalantē itia pulucani*.

In Sanskrit literature standing in mid-air is a sign by which one can tell a god from a man. Sanskrit readers are familiar with that passage in the story of Nala (V. 22 pp.) where Damayanti, at a loss how to distinguish her lover from the four gods who have assumed his form, in her distress prays to them to reveal their divinity. They do so by appearing "sweatless, unwinking, crowned with fresh and dustless garlands." "*Asvedān stabdha-locanān hṛṣitasragrajohonān sthithān asprṣataḥ kṣitim.*"

By the way this is but another instance of how saints have assumed the attributes of gods, or, rather, to be on the safe side, how both derive their attributes from a common source.

Why this insistence on the power to float in the air? Why is it made a test of divinity or sainthood? It has rather been taken for granted that, given supernatural beings, they must move in the regions of air instead of treading the earth. We are so used to the idea that we think it perfectly natural, and forget that it only seems natural because we are so used to it. When we come to think of it, there is no reason why they should not walk as we do, swim in the sea, or burrow in the earth. If we are to make a beginning of explaining customs and beliefs we must take nothing for granted, but must seek to explain everything, not by vague phrases such as "poetic fancy," "primitive thought," but by precise causes from which the custom or belief derives with logical, one might almost say mathematical, necessity.

The line of attack I propose is one which has already enabled us to win several minor advantages.³ It may or may not be successful in this case, but I claim for it that at the least it is a serious attempt to penetrate into the region of myth, and that it conforms to the standard I have set.

I use as my base the fact that over a large part of the old world kings are divine, they are impersonations of gods, and as such have all the attributes of godhead, so that what is true of the god is true of the king, and what is true of the king is true of the god. I have no hesitation in believing that all the varieties of this doctrine, wherever they occur, are derived from the same original source, since the area they cover is continuous from West Africa to Peru, and even, if it were not continuous, the doctrine

3. 'Chieftainship in the Pacific,' *Amer. Anthropologist*, 1915, p. 681. 'The Common Sense of Myth,' *ibid.*, 1916, p. 307. 'Polynesian Tombs,' *ibid.*, 1918, p. 456. 'Myths in the Making,' *Folk-lore*, 1922, p. 57.

itself is sufficiently strange and elaborate to warrant us in denying that it can ever have sprung up independently in various parts of the world.

Now, in countries where the kings or priest-kings are divine it sometimes happens that the king is never allowed to touch the ground. Instances are quoted by Sir James Frazer in his *Golden Bough*⁴ from countries both East and West of India; among the Zapotecs of Mexico, in Japan, Siam, Persia, Uganda. The case which gives us most support comes from Tahiti, and I will therefore quote in full Ellis' account in his *Polynesian Researches* (III, 101f, 108, 114): "Whether, like the sovereigns of the Sandwich Islands, they were supposed to derive their origin by lineal descent from the gods, or not, their persons were regarded as scarcely less sacred than the personification of the deities. . . . The sovereign and his consort always appeared in public on men's shoulders, and travelled in this manner wherever they journeyed by land. . . . On these occasions (changes of mounts) their majesties never suffered their feet to touch the ground. . . . The inauguration ceremony, answering to coronation among other nations, consisted in girding the king with the *maro ura*, or sacred girdle, of red feathers which not only raised him to the highest earthly station, but identified him with the gods. This idea pervaded the terms used with reference to his whole establishment. His houses were called clouds of heaven, the glare of the torches in his dwelling was denominated lightning, and when the people saw them in the evening as they passed near his abode, instead of saying the torches were burning in the palace, they would observe that the lightning was flashing in the clouds of heaven. When he passed from one district to the other they always used the word *mahuta*, which signifies to fly, and hence they described his journey by saying that the king was flying from one district of the Island to another."

In Tahiti then it was literally true that gods were distinguished from ordinary men in that they never touched the ground, but that they flew where others walked. But the reason why the king-god did so was not the reason given by the people themselves; they said that if he touched the ground that spot would have become sacred and could never more have been used for profane purposes. This may have been a very good reason for keeping up the practice, but the other observances I have quoted leave no doubt that its true origin is that the king of Tahiti, like the king of Egypt, of the Hittites,⁵ of Ceylon,⁶ of various parts of

4. 2nd ed., I, 234, 236, III, 202.

5. Garstang: *The Land of the Hittites*, p. 340.

6. Don M. de Z. Wickremasinghe: *Epigraphia Zeylanica* vols. I, p. 26; II, pp. 162 and 189.

India,⁷ of Japan, to name a few among many, was the sun-god himself or his son, and as such lived in clouds, flashed lightning, and moved above the earth. The king of Tahiti like other Polynesian kings was called Heaven, and "at death or transference of a king's temporal power it is said, 'The Ra (sun) has set,' the king being called 'the man who holds the sun,' or the 'Sun-Eater.'"⁸

"You have produced evidence," some one will object, "from Mexico, from Tahiti, from Uganda, from everywhere except from India, from which the argument set out. You have not attempted to show us in existence in India the custom which is supposed to explain the miracle of flying through the air." But if my suggestion is right, we ought not to find the custom practised in India at the time and in the place where the Nala episode or any writing containing the same belief was written; for as long as the gods are to be seen carried about so that their feet may not touch the ground, this mark of kingship, viz., divinity, cannot be regarded in the light of a miracle. On the other hand when the custom has fallen into oblivion the perfectly true statement that gods used to move above the earth can only be interpreted in the sense of a supernatural manifestation.⁹ In Sanskrit and Pali literature therefore we cannot expect to find more than echoes of this ancient custom,—indications that it once existed. We seem to have such an echo in the history of Sona as related by Spence Hardy in his *Manual of Buddhism* (p. 254). From his childhood Sona never put his foot on the ground, because he had a circle of red hairs under the sole of his foot. He had only to threaten to put his foot down to bring his servants to reason, as they dreaded that so much merit should thus get lost. Now this wheel on the sole has been shown by Senart to be originally an emblem of the Sun-god.¹⁰ Others better read than I may find more traces of this very ancient custom. I would just like to make a suggestion for what it is worth. Both Egypt¹¹ and Polynesia¹² have a story that heaven and earth were in close embrace until a hero came and parted them by lifting

7. Senart : *Essai sur la Légende du Bouddha*.

8. Tregear : *Comparative Maori Dictionary*, s.v. *ra* and *rangi*.

9. Cf. *Myths in the Making*, p. 64.

10. *Op. cit.*, pp. 88 ff., 139.

11. Erman : *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*.

12. Tregear ; *op. cit.* s.v. *Mani*.—Arthur Grimble : *Myths from the Gilbert Islands, Folk-Lore*, 1922, p. 94. In Egypt the sky is a woman, the Earth a man ; in Polynesia it is the reverse.

up the Heavens. May not the customs of not allowing the solar king to touch the earth have some connection with this myth ?

Let us leave that aside, however, and return to the other attributes ascribed to gods by the *Mahābhārata*: "sweatless, unwinking, crowned with fresh and dustless garlands." I confess these were long a stumbling block to me, for if we explain one attribute by the theory of divine kingship we must explain the others in the same way. Here I stuck until I chanced to read in the *Golden Bough* (I. 235) the following passage taken from Kaempfer's *History of Japan*: "In ancient times he (the Mikado) was obliged....to sit altogether like a statue, without stirring either hands or feet, head or eyes, nor indeed any part of his body, because, by this means, it was thought he could preserve peace and tranquillity in his empire." I mentioned at the outset the parallelism that exists between kings and saints; we could hardly expect that it would extend even to the contemplative exercises of the Indian ascetics.

Our inquiry, then, has had results which bear out the opinion I have frequently expressed before, that myths and miracles are excellent and reliable history, not of events but of customs. No one will wonder at this who has busied himself with collecting oral tradition, and who knows how anxious the average man is to get his tradition faultlessly accurate. If he goes wrong it is not that he alters statements he has heard, but that he misconceives their meaning, because the custom which is the clue to that meaning is lost.



Literary Register.

REVIEW.

"The Gleam."

"THE Gleam," by Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.S.F.
 John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W., 1923.
 Price 12/- net.

This is the history, related in a sympathetic manner and in a vivid, easy, and charming style, of an attempt by a native of northern India to perform what Dean Inge calls an impossible task, viz., to find or work out for himself a new religion, while ignoring or rejecting the teaching and dogmas of the old religions still accepted by millions, and repudiating the idea of a special revelation.

The enthusiast who has set himself this quest shuns, we are told, publicity, and therefore Sir Francis does not give us his name, and has avoided saying anything which would give a clue to his identity. For the purposes of this book, he has named him Nija Svabhava. He has known him ever since he began the search. Suffice it to say that he belongs to the ruling class, and that his father, an old Government servant, held a beautiful estate in a Himalaya district of the Punjab. The fact that he and a British officer of distinction have been for so many years on the most intimate terms and have been bound together in such a strong friendship rather upsets the theory that East and West shall never meet, and shows what harm is being wrought by extremists whose object is to sow discord between them.

It appears then that Svabhava has been following this Gleam or Vision for more than thirty years, and in the last two chapters we are told the result. It is that he is still following the Gleam. This certainly looks as if Dean Inge's saying were true, for after all a Gleam is but a gleam, and not a clear sight of anything. It is hardly enough to afford a revelation of what is required to equip the seeker with a religion that will serve him in this world and in whatever other worlds there be. Will it suffice for the average man—to regulate conduct and to inspire devotion? One recalls the lines:

“ They say they want to follow the gleam,
But they always follow me.”

In the seeking after God which has occupied thirty years of his life, Svabhava arrived at and discarded many conceptions of God and of the nature of religion. At the beginning, “He was a mysterious Power that had brought men into being and in some inscrutable way influenced their whole lives. He had no doubt of His existence ;” and in common with many Hindus besides Christians he “ accepted the idea of God as a Father.” After a time he began to veer round from this conception of God as an onlooker, and began to think that he was within men—“that Mind or Spirit or Presence that lies behind everything in Nature.” His ideas developed further ; he was opposed to the view that God was a separate Being apart from ourselves. We ourselves “were part of God and went to the making of God.” “ God was, if a Personality at all, a corporate Personality.” When he had progressed—or retrograded—as far as this, he naturally ceased praying to an outside God, and began praying to himself.

The next stage was the conclusion, which he came to just before the outbreak of the Great War, that “ we have not been made by an external Creator and our destinies are not controlled by an outside God. We are part and parcel and the product of a great World-Impulse which has its source in the Universal Consciousness.” He went on to develop this idea, and came to the conclusion that “ what we are accustomed to speak of as ‘ God ’ is really the Genius of Mother-World—what might be called the Presiding Genius of the World. This Genius of Mother-World would not stand outside the World or apart from it. It would be to the World what the soul is to the body. It might be transcendent to it as the mind is to the body. But it would be in the World as the mind is in the body. God would thus be the ‘ soul ’ of Mother-World as the visible material Universe is Her ‘ body.’ ”

Sir Francis summarises this creed for us thus.—

“ Svabhava conceives of the World as a Person (or supra-Person)—as Mother-World. Of this Person whatever we see as the outward material world (including the bodies of human beings) is the ‘ body ’ and what we speak of as God is the ‘ mind.’ And the Godhead of God resides in special, highly developed individuals as the intellect resides in the special, highly-developed cells of the brain. The individual man is the son of Mother-World as he is

the son of Motherland. And between him and Mother-World there is reciprocal love as there is between him and his Motherland. He both affects and is affected by Mother-World. And from this World-love between him and Mother-World there springs a determination to make the best of himself and do his best for the World. And the better he succeeds the greater his joy."

This is, of course, nothing else than Pantheism, pure and simple. There is nothing new in it. Sir Francis Younghusband says, that than this faith "a simpler could not be found." But it does not seem to us a faith for simple folk. He says further that "before the next war comes we must find a religion so vital, so strong that it will keep men firm and steady in the face of the most terrific shocks and make their nerve like tungstened steel."

Have we it here—in these cold abstractions of Pantheism? And the sole result of the study of a lifetime of an enthusiast of genius is this Gleam of an ancient heresy.

The last two chapters of the book are written in a poetic strain, which takes the shape of a quaint rhythmic lilt. Much of it can be given the appearance of verse, merely by dividing it into lengths, and spacing these like verse. Thus chapter XIV opens,—

"For many a year had I followed the Gleam
Firstly over the mountains, then crossing the deserts,
And into the forests and into the homes
Of the humblest and highest. And this was my vision."

A little further on.—

"But pain I not reckoned the fruit of the struggle,
It may be a needful and warning concomitant,
Pointing to danger and spurring to action.
The true and abiding result of the conflict
Is growing perfection and joy of achievement.
At heart of the struggle is urge to perfection;
And joy ever follows perfection attained."

Again.—

"And higher again, in degree of perfection,
Rise beast, bird and insect in numberless forms,
By the drive from within and the pressure without,
Being ever constrained to push higher and higher.
For keen and alert they must always remain,
Or the prey will elude the pursuer—the preyed on

Succumb to the preyer. Keyed up they must be
 To their best ; but thus keyed to their best,
 They take pride in themselves and have joy in displaying
 Their strength or their fleetness, their beauty or grace,
 And in mad exultation, in beauty of movement,
 Or wonders of flight, or in play or in song,
 They will tell of their gladness. The strain and the pain
 Are completely supplanted. Glad instinct has shown them
 What life can be made."

.....

"So from out of the innermost heart of the evil,
 The good in the end is thus made to result.
 We see peaks of perfection, each higher than last one,
 Through pain and through struggle triumphantly reached,
 And ever the finest and gentlest reach highest,
 And quality constantly finer and finer,
 Not bulk and brute force, is what wins in the end."

We might multiply these quotations until we had exhausted nearly the whole of these two chapters, but these specimens will suffice to show that Sir Francis might easily write blank verse, and that his prose is of a more rhythmical form than most of the "free poetry" of the present day.

This book should be useful to students of comparative religions, like Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan.

J. P. L.

IN CEYLON A CENTURY AGO.

The Proceedings of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society.

WITH NOTES BY T. PETCH.

(Continued from Vol. VIII, Part IV, Page 355.)

1825.

AT the Annual General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday, the First day of February, 1825.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Knt.	} Vice-Presidents.
Charles Farrell, Esq., M.D.	
Charles Edward Layard, Esq.,	The Revd. Andrew Armour
Henry Augustus Marshall, Esq.,	The Revd. J. H. De Saram,
Captn. Schneider.	

Sir Hardinge Giffard informs the Meeting that he has received a Letter from Captain Gascoyne stating his inability to attend on this day, being with His Excellency the Governor at Kandy.

Mr. Morgan is directed to act as Deputy Secretary *pro tempore*.

The Society proceeds to ballot for the election of the Members of the General Committee for the Current Year, and the following Gentlemen are declared duly elected:—

Henry Augustus Marshall, Esqr.
 Henry Matthews, Esqr.
 William Henry Hooper, Esqr.
 Lieut.-Col. George Warren Walker
 Lieut.-Col. Chatham Horace Churchill
 The Reverend Andrew Armour
 The Reverend J. H. De Saram
 Captn. Schneider
 J. H. Reckerman, Esquire.

The Accounts of the Funds of the Society having been laid before the Meeting, the Balance in the Hands of the Treasurer was found to be Rds. 2284. 3. 2.

Meteorology of Trincomalie.

Sir Hardinge Giffard lays before the Meeting a Meteorological Journal for the two last years kept at Trincomalie and forwarded by the Revd. C. J. Lyon.

Ordered that the thanks of the Society be communicated to Mr. Lyon.

A Letter³⁵ from the Baron de Ferussac having been laid before the Society, it is ordered that it be referred to the General Committee to consider what Answer ought to be returned to the same.

35. There is no further reference to this letter, and no reply in the copies of correspondence.

Leaf Insects.

A Letter from Count Ranzouw to the Secretary transmitting some observations on the Leaf Insects was also laid before the Meeting and referred to the Committee.

Improvement of Agriculture.

A Proposal by Count Ranzouw that the Society should offer a premium for the best Plans of improving Agriculture, etc., is also submitted to the Meeting and referred to the Committee.

The Meeting is adjourned until Saturday, the Twelfth Instant, at 12 o'clock.

At a Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held at Colombo on the Eighth day of March, 1825.

Present.—

His Excellency the Governor, President.

The Hon'ble Robt. Boyd, Esqr.

Charles Farrell, Esqr., M.D.

Lieut.-Col. G. W. Walker

Lieut.-Col. C. H. Churchill

Major Fraser

Capt. Dawson

J. Dwyer, Esqr., M.D.

The Revd. A. Armour

} Vice-Presidents.

George Lusignan, Esqr.

H. A. Marshall, Esqr.

W. H. Hooper, Esqr.

Alexr. Moon, Esqr.

The Revd. J. H. De Saram

J. H. Reckerman, Esqr.

William Granville, Esqr.

Bennett's Book on Fishes.

The Governor states to the Society that his object in calling the present Meeting is to submit for consideration the Prospectus of a work proposed to be published in numbers by John Whitchurch Bennett, Esq., on the Fishes of Ceylon, a publication which promises to promote one of the objects for which this Society was instituted, as well as to advance the interests of Natural History.

[The Minutes of the meeting, so far as they relate to the above subject, with Bennett's Prospectus, and a preliminary list of subscribers, were published in the "Government Gazette" of March 19, 1825.]

Major Fraser proposes Captn. Hamilton as Member of the Society, which is seconded by His Excellency the Governor.

Resolved that Captn. Hamilton be ballotted for at the next Meeting.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Thursday, the 16th June, 1825.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Knt., L.L.D.

Charles Farrell, Esqr., M.D.

Captn. Thomas Bamber Gascoyne, Secretary.

A Paper from the Revd. Mr. Roberts of Trincomalie is laid before the Meeting and referred to Dr. Farrell.

Potatoes.

A Report of the state of the Garden at Fort McDonald is also laid before the Meeting.

The Meeting proceeds to ballot for the election of Captn. Hamilton as a Member of the Society, and the ballot being concluded Captn. Hamilton is declared duly elected.

The Society is adjourned.

At a Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Thursday, the 15th September, 1825.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Knt. L.L.D.

Charles Farrell, Esqr., M.D.

The Revd. Andrew Armour

William Granville, Esqr.

Captn. Thomas Bamber Gascoyne, Secretary.

Hindoo Superstitions.

The Paper of the Revd. Mr. Roberts on Hindoo Superstitions being returned by Dr. Farrell to whom it had been referred, it is resolved that the thanks of the Society be communicated to him.

Resolved that the Annual Subscriptions be collected, and Mr. Granville having kindly promised to collect those of the Gentlemen at Colombo, the Secretary is desired to write to those at Outstations to remit their Subscriptions to the Treasurer.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday, the 18th October, 1825.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard

The Revd. B. Clough.

Captn. Gascoyne, Secretary.

Potatoes.

The Secretary submits a Letter from the Society's Gardener at Fort MacDonald reporting the great damage done to the Crop by the heavy and unseasonable Rains.

Resolved that as soon as the present Crops are disposed of, the Plantations at Fort MacDonald and Maturatta should be broke up, and the Establishments discharged.

The Meeting is adjourned.

1826.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday, the 17th January, 1826.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Knt., L.L.D.

Charles Farrell, Esqr., M.D.

Charles Collier, Esqr.

The Revd. Benjamin Clough

J. H. Reckerman, Esqr.

J. Dwyer, Esqr., M.D.

William Granville, Esqr.

The Revd. J. H. De Saram,
A.M.

Henry Matthews, Esqr., A.M.

Captn. Gascoyne, Secretary.

The Meeting proceeds to ballot for the Committee for the present year, and the Ballot being concluded the following Gentlemen are declared duly elected:—

James Nicholas Mooyaart, Esqr.

Charles Edward Layard, Esq.

Henry Matthews, Esqr.

Henry Augustus Marshall, Esqr.

The Revd. Andrew Armour

The Revd. Benjamin Clough

Charles Collier, Esqr.

Lieut.-Col. George Warren
Walker

The Accounts of the Funds of the Society having been laid before the Meeting, the Balance in the Hands of the Treasurer was found to be £103. 11. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$.

A Paper by the Reverend Mr. Roberts on Hindoo Superstitions is read and referred to the report of Dr. Collier and the Revd. Mr. Clough.

The Secretary reports having purchased Rees's Encyclopaedia at the late Mr. Lusignan's Sale for £48. 15, agreeable to Instructions received at the last Meeting.

Resolved that the Secretary do purchase a Book Case for the Society.

Dr. Dwyer proposes Mr. Wilmott as a Member of the Society which is seconded by Captn. Gascoyne.

Ordered that Mr. Wilmott be ballotted for at the next General Meeting.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Thursday, the 16th February, 1826.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Knt.

Chas. Edward Layard, Esqr.

Lieut.-Col. Walker

William Granville, Esqr.

James Nicholas Mooyaart, Esqr.

The Revd. Benjamin Clough

Captn. Thomas B. Gascoyne

Agriculture.

Sir Hardinge Giffard reads a Paper on the culture of certain natural products for commercial purposes, particularly Indigo.

Ceylon Woods and Corals.

Mr. Layard undertakes to obtain a collection of specimens of the whole of the woods natural to the Colombo District, he will also undertake to furnish specimens of the varieties of Coral found on the Coast.

The thanks of the Society are voted to Mr. Layard for his kind offer.

Indigo.

Mr. Mooyaart offers to send a portion of the specimens of Indigo produced with Sir Hardinge Giffard's Paper as the produce of

an experiment made by Mr. Tranchell at Belligam to the Coast to have it compared with the Indigo there manufactured, and to obtain specimens of their manufacture.

Fibre.

A specimen of Hemp formed from the Bixa Orellana is produced by Sir Hardinge Giffard, as reported in his Paper.

Mineralogy.

Mr. Layard offers also specimens of mineralogy to form the base of a collection.

Resolved that the Paper of Sir Hardinge Giffard should be published in the *Gazette*.³⁶

The Ballot for the admission of Mr. Willmot takes place and he is declared duly elected.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Wednesday, the 15th March, 1826.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, L.L.D.

William Granville, Esqr.

Charles Edward Layard, Esqr.

The Reverend J. H. De Saram, A.M.

The Reverend Benjamin Clough

Captn. Gascoyne

The thanks of the Society are voted unanimously to Mr. Layard for his collection of Books sent to his Rooms.

Corals and Woods.

Mr. Layard likewise lays before the Society Specimens of Coral and Specimens of Island Woods.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a Special General Meeting³⁷ of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday, the 18th April, 1826.

36. Published in the *Gazette* of Feb. 18th, 1826.

37. Advertised in the *Gazette* of April 15th, 1826.

Present.—

His Excellency the Governor

Charles Farrell, Esqr., M.D.

Henry Matthews, Esqr.

Henry A. Marshall, Esqr.

James N. Mooyaart, Esqr.

The Revd. Andrew Armour

The Revd. J. H. De Saram, A.M.

The Revd. Benjamin Clough

Lieut.-Col. Walker

Charles Collier, Esqr.

John Dwyer, Esqr., M.D.

Captn. Hamilton

Captn. Gascoyne.

Indigo.

The Meeting is convened by desire of His Excellency the Governor for the purpose of taking into consideration the proposals of John Tranchell, Esqr., for the establishment of a Joint Stock Company for the cultivation of Indigo.

The Secretary reads a Letter from Sir Hardinge Giffard apologizing for his absence and announcing his wish to encourage the project.

The Secretary reads the proposals of John Tranchell, Esqr., as addressed to His Excellency.

Mr. Mooyaart produces specimens of Indigo from the Manufactories of Calcutta, Tinnevely and Pondicherry.

The Governor proposes that a Select Committee be appointed to take Mr. Tranchell's project into consideration and modify the plan so that the Public may be encouraged to enter into it and a sufficient remuneration be at the same time given to Mr. Tranchell to prosecute the culture and manufacture.

The following Gentlemen are selected as the Committee:—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard Doctor Farrell

Henry Matthews, Esqr.

James N. Mooyaart, Esqr.

Henry A. Marshall, Esqr.

Bennett's "Fishes."

The subject of Mr. Bennett's work on Fishes having been brought to the notice of the Meeting His Excellency proposes that the Secretary do write to Mr. Bennett informing him of the Sum subscribed to it and at the same time requesting to know how this Sum can be advantageously applied, and to enquire how far this work is advanced towards publication.

The Meeting is adjourned.

Indigo.

At a Meeting of the Committee held on Monday, the 15th May, 1826, for the purpose of taking into consideration the proposals of John Tranchell, Esqr., for the establishment of an Indigo Factory on Ceylon.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Knt.

Henry Matthews, Esqr.

Henry Augustus Marshall, Esqr.

Doctor Farrell

The Secretary reads the Resolution of the General Meeting for referring the subject to the Committee of Mr. Tranchell's Proposals and Letter to His Excellency the Governor.

The several points of objection having occurred to the Committee on the consideration of Mr. Tranchell's Prospectus, the Secretary is desired to write to Mr. Tranchell stating the points on which the principal difficulties occur, and requesting to know if he can suggest any amendment or alteration of these under which he considers his design can be advantageously undertaken.

The points referred to Mr. Tranchell at the desire of the Committee are as follows :—

It being taken for granted that the Government is willing to furnish the land necessary for the purpose, the capital proposed to be subscribed by the intended company exceeds that which is likely to be raised in Ceylon.—Whether a less sum might not be sufficient.

It is objected that the previous appropriation of a number of shares to Mr. Tranchell may be considered as impolitic on the outset.

That it would be better to leave the remuneration to Mr. Tranchell to be rated according to the profit arising from the concern.

That to secure Mr. Tranchell against any caprice on the part of the proprietors, the Superintendent be not removable but upon a vote of four-fifths of the proprietors.

That Mr. Tranchell be requested to consider how far the very large scale which he suggests be absolutely necessary.

That he be requested to state how far he can rely upon a sufficient number of Workmen being procured in the Tangalle District.

That the conveyance of the land to Mr. Tranchell himself is objectionable; that therefore it should be granted to Trustees for the Subscribers generally.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Friday, the 19th May, 1826.

Present.—

His Excellency the Governor.

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard

H. A. Marshall, Esqr.

William Granville, Esqr.

Doctor Dwyer

Captn. Gascoyne

Mango.

Sir Hardinge Giffard lays before the Meeting a Mango, the produce of a Tree in his Garden grafted last year; its weight when taken from the Tree was 11lb. 10oz., and dimensions in the longest direction 15 inches and in the shortest 13 inches.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a Meeting of the Committee held on Wednesday, the 14th June, 1826, for the purpose of taking into consideration the proposals of John Tranchell, Esqr., for the establishment of an Indigo Factory on Ceylon.

Present.—

Dr. Farrell

Henry Matthews, Esqr.

James N. Mooyart, Esqr.

Captn. Gascoyne

Indigo.

A Letter from Mr. Tranchell is read in reply to the communication made to him by the Secretary on the 15th ultimo, in conformity with the Resolution passed on the 15th preceding.

A note is read from the Hon'ble the Chief Justice excusing his attendance on account of indisposition, and it is therefore

resolved that as Sir Hardinge Giffard has hitherto taken so much interest in the subject under review, it would not be doing justice to Mr. Tranchell to proceed further in the consideration of it in his absence, and the Meeting is therefore adjourned.

Indigo.

At a Meeting of the Committee held on Thursday, the 20th July, 1826, for the purpose of taking into consideration the proposals of John Tranchell, Esqr., for the establishment of an Indigo Factory on Ceylon.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard

Henry Matthews, Esqr.

Captn. Gascoyne

Agreeably to the direction of the General Meeting the Committee have taken Mr. Tranchell's Proposals for the establishment of an Indigo Factory into consideration and in consequence of a communication from the Committee that Gentleman having modified his original prospectus, the Committee now begs strongly to recommend the Plan to the favourable attention of the Society in its amended form, as detailed in Mr. Tranchell's letter to the Secretary, dated the 29th May, 1826.

The Committee begs also in furtherance of the proposal to recommend that a Premium be offered by the Society for the best Specimen of Indigo of Ceylon growth and of a marketable quality produced within a certain period. The amount of the Premium and the time allowed for producing the specimen being adjudged at the discretion of the General Meeting.

Should the plan of Mr. Tranchell be ultimately carried into execution the Committee begs further to recommend that the remuneration to him for the management should be made by a liberal percentage, such remuneration, however, to be open to future revision should it be found in the course of time to exceed a certain amount to be also previously fixed by the General Meeting.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday, the 1st August, 1826.

Present.—

His Excellency the Governor

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Knt.

The Hon'ble Sir Richard Ottley, Knt.

Lt.-Col. Walker

Henry Matthews, Esqr.

Lt.-Col. Churchill

C. E. Layard, Esqr.

The Revd. J. H. De Saram

Captn. Gascoyne.

Indigo.

The Secretary reads the Letter addressed to Mr. Tranchell by him, under direction of the Committee dated the 18th May, 1826, Mr. Tranchell's reply and the Resolution of the Committee thereupon.

Resolved that it not being the object of this Society to enter into agricultural speculations, all that can be expected of it, is to promote or stimulate any such undertakings, and the Society does therefore adjudge to Mr. Tranchell a premium of fifty pounds on his producing to it before the 1st August 1827 at a General Meeting to be called for the purpose fifteen pounds of Indigo cultivated in Ceylon of a good and marketable quality.

Resolved that an authority be granted to the Secretary to advance Mr. Tranchell a Sum not exceeding Rds. 300 of his Experiment should his Prospectus fail in procuring Subscribers.³⁸

The Secretary reads a letter from Mr. Bennett in reply to his of the 27th April last written by direction of the General Meeting of the 18th April last, and it is resolved that the Money subscribed be collected without delay and remitted to Mr. Penn, the agent of the Colony, as Mr. Bennett requests. That the Secretary do acquaint Mr. Bennett with this resolution.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society appointed to be held on Tuesday, the 17th October, 1826.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Knt.

Sir Hardinge Giffard lodges with the Clerk a Paper entitled "Mineralogy of the Tangalle District," together with three specimens.

38. In the *Tropical Agriculturist*, xiii, p. 76, it is stated that the Company was one of fifty shares at £87-10 each and was granted 2,000 acres free of rent. The indigo was said to be *Indigofera tinctoria*, growing wild in the Tangalle district. Tranchell died on October 31, 1828: he was then Sitting Magistrate of Belligam.

The Secretary being unable to attend the Meeting and no other person having attended this day, the Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Thursday, the 16th November, 1826.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir H. Giffard

Lieut.-Col. Walker

J. N. Mooyaart, Esqr.

Revd. B. Clough.

Revd. A. Armour

The Paper³⁹ regarding the Mineralogy of the Tangalle District referred to in the Proceedings of the 17th ultimo is read.

Bennett's "Fishes."

The Secretary reports, that with reference to the Proceedings of the meeting of the first of August last whereby he was authorized to collect the subscriptions proposed to be advanced for Mr. Bennett's work and remit the amount to Mr. Penn on account of the Publication, that he has collected £76. 2. 6, and obtained a Bill on Mr. Penn for £73 of that amount, and that the rest remains in the hands of the Society, after deducting the 3 per cent. Premium paid to Government.

Adjourned till Tuesday, the 16th January, 1827.

(To be concluded).

39. Published in the *Gazette* of Nov. 4, 1826,



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(CEYLON BRANCH)

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Published Quarterly.

Vol. IX.

October, 1923.

Part II.

THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS.

1804—1820.

By L. J. GRATIAEN.

HAVING in previous articles related how the Government Parish Schools were resumed and suppressed, and the Seminary at Hulftsdorp established and later reduced to a more modest scale under Governor North, I now propose to relate how the Parish Schools were once more resumed, and to trace the story of the Government schools to the end of the rule of Governor Brownrigg.

It will be remembered that the schoolmasters of the country parishes were not only teachers but also Registrars of baptisms and marriages. When their salaries were retrenched they ceased to teach, but continued to perform their duties as Registrars, for which they received fees. A skeleton organization therefore remained which made the resumption of the system a comparatively easy matter. "Schoolmasters" continued to be appointed; and though Twisleton resigned¹ his salary as Principal of the schools, he continued to hold that office. He remained for some years the only Clergyman of the English Church in Ceylon; but was assisted by

The greater part of the information in this article has been obtained from the correspondence, preserved in the library of the Colonial Secretary's office, between the Principal of the Schools and the Secretary to Government. In the notes letters from the Principal to Government are marked A and those from Government to the Principal B.

(1) A. 15 Oct. 1805.

"Preachers of the Gospel," who had the Governor's Licence to baptise and marry. In 1806 there were 6 Preachers, but by 1810 there remained only Christian David, at Jaffna, and the brothers Ondatje.

This establishment was strengthened early in 1805 by the arrival of four missionaries sent by the London Missionary Society. North did not think it advisable that they should be independent, and took them into the service of government.² Rev. de Vos, who came from the Cape and was the only one of them in orders, was appointed Dutch Minister at Galle, where the Dutch did not receive him gladly.³ Read, an Englishman, became his assistant at Galle; and Erhardt, a Lutheran from Saxony, at Matara. Palm and his wife arrived somewhat later and were sent to Jaffna, where they pleased Christian David "by their true pious character."⁴

The Seminary at this time consisted, it will be remembered, of two schools—Mr. Armour's for Sinhalese and Tamil boys, and Mr. Supple's for Burgher boys. The official Statement of Establishments in December 1804 was as follows:—

Allowance to Mr. Armour and Native school—school rent, stationery etc. for the Native school at Hulftsdorp Rds. 411. 9. 8.

Allowance to the schoolmaster of the European school, house rent, stationery and subsistence of 18 boys Rds. 403. 6. 2. Total Rds. 814. 15. 10.

Supple, who was "subject to epileptic fits succeeded by some degree of temporary derangement,"⁵ was in consequence "not as able as formerly to discharge his duties."⁶ On his death⁷ his school was amalgamated with Armour's and the schools were thereafter termed "The United schools." Sixteen orphan boys of Supple's school were given an allowance of 8 *fanams* a day for maintenance.⁷

The staff of the United Schools consisted⁸ of Armour, "English Teacher," an assistant teacher, two Sinhalese and two Malabar teachers. Armour received 150 Rds. and the others 125 Rds. among them. Other expenses included 36 Rds for stationery, 24 for house rent and servants' wages and 3 for a water carrier⁹.

(2) North to Camden, 27 Feb. 1805.

(3) A. 2 Aug. 1806.

(4) David's letter enclosed with A. 2 Aug. 1805.

(5) Letters of Medical Superintendent General to Govt. 23 July 1804.

(6) Some time between Aug. 1804 and July 1805.

(7) A. 10 Dec. 1812 and "Charges" 25 July 1808.

(8) "Charges" for 1809, 1810;

(9) "Charges" 25 July 1808.

A striking incident in the early history of the United Schools was the secession in December 1806 of all the Vellala boys¹⁰. All boys who were not Vellalas had before been placed in a separate room, but Mr. Armour, who, the boys stated, "has had the goodness to teach English with great loveliness and in the best manner that can be, and also made many boys clever," now placed the Chalia and Vellala boys in the same room, and rather than submit to the indignity the Vellala boys, numbering about 56, left the school and petitioned Twisleton. Mr. Armour at the same time complained that "Vellala boys will learn only such things and in such a way as they please, also many of the rich fathers of boys who pay, pay very unwillingly, and he is continually out of pocket" How the strike ended there is no record, but some concession was clearly made to prejudice.

The revival of the parish schools seems to have been brought about in rather a curious way. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, an associate of Wilberforce in the philanthropic politics of that day, published in 1806 an account of his travels, in which he described the Protestant Religion as extinct in the Island.¹¹ The matter was taken up by Wilberforce, who in September 1808 wrote to Babington¹².

"I have been writing to Lord Castlereagh about the conduct of the Government, in breaking up, for the purpose of saving I am told about £ 1,800, nearly all the schools in Ceylon.... You cannot conceive (yes, you can on recollection) how cool Lord Castlereagh was about the schools, etc. Yet something passed which showed the benefit of our parliamentary discussions...." Castlereagh wrote to Maitland that his government was being censured for discouraging Christianity, and enjoined on the Governor the necessity of promoting education¹³.

Before this the Governor had invited the co-operation of the Dutch Consistory in resuming the schools, but their plans provided¹⁴ that "all schools, schoolmasters and school children of the Reformed¹⁴ Congregation shall stand under the Ministers and Consistory, and that no teachers shall be appointed except on the recommendation of the Consistory." Their co-operation was therefore impossible.

(10) A. 16 Dec. 1806 and petition enclosed

(11) See Tennent's *Christianity in Ceylon*, pp. 84, 85 (Valentia's *Travels* were not published till 1809)

(12) Quoted in the *Friend*, May 1841.

(13) Minutes of the Colombo Consistory, under dates 5 Feb. and 6 Nov. 1807.

(14) i.e. of the Reformed Dutch Church.

In October, 1809, the Governor appointed Twisleton Principal of a Committee with Messrs Marshall, D'Oyly and Montgomery "for the purpose of superintending the schools on this Island"¹⁶ No further reference to this committee is found, and Twisleton alone seems to have been responsible for the schools. His duties, we are told, "could not have been entrusted to one more able or more inclined to perform them with efficiency"¹⁶

During 1810 and 1811 the schools were gradually resumed. In December 1810 Twisleton submitted to the Governor a statement¹⁷ showing that 23 schools had already been resumed in the Galle district, 18 in Matara and 6 in Colombo, and recommending the appointments of two more preachers of the Gospel, for Caltura and Matara, and nine catechist-masters, three of them "for Chalias."

Acts of appointment were accordingly issued.¹⁸ Regular visitations were now resumed. In December, 1810, Andrew Armour conducted a short visitation of 18 days, when he "merely stopped at each school a short time and held a short examination."¹⁹ In 1811 the visitation was made by the proponent, Isaac Perera, who was out 28 days and visited 29 schools in the Colombo district.²⁰ In this way the schools were "happily re-established, and the Christian religion allowed to revive among the Cingalese."²¹

A noteworthy development connected with the reopening of the schools was the establishment of English schools in certain parishes. In Jaffna, Christian David had opened such a school in 1804,²² aided by a Government grant and public subscriptions, but this was soon closed²³. In 1808 Palm applied for permission to open a school "for teaching children their own and the English language,"²⁴ adding "I shall myself superintend the school, and instruct in the English language," and the next year he and David began to receive a grant of 25 Rds. a month each for their schools²⁵. Later Mr. Meyer, who opened a school at Calpentyn, was taken in the establishment as Prelector and Catechist Master^{17 18}.

These cases are worth noting as the beginning of a change of

(15) B. 6 Oct. 1809.

(16) *Harvard's Wesleyan Mission*

(17) A. 10 Dec. 1810.

(18) B. 15 March 1811.

(19) Letters of Armour 10 Feb 1813.

(20) A. 7 Feb. 1813.

(21) A. 25 Nov. 1811.

(22) A. 10 Oct. 1804.

(23) David's autobiography.

(24) Palm to Maitland, 18 Jan. 1808.

policy. The Government schools had been essentially vernacular mission schools, but emphasis began now to be laid more and more on English teaching in the towns, where there were already Christian communities, whose educational needs were at this time met by private enterprise, as the following advertisements will help to make clear :

A Card,²⁵ Mrs. Gun, widow of the late Geo. Gun, Watch maker, respectfully, begs leave to acquaint, the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement that, she continues her school at No. 8 Hospital Street in the Fort, where Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and plain Needle-work and marking are taught. Mrs. Gun has an *Airy* and Healthy upstairs Room fitted out for the reception of her scholars, and she has employed a European usher for the purpose of attending to the teaching of writing, cyphering etc. and the parents and Guardians of children entrusted to her care, may depend upon every possible attention being paid to their Education etc. The Terms are Four Rix Dollars per month for each scholar, and the hours of school are from Nine O'Clock in the Morning until Two in the Afternoon".

*A Card*²⁶ William Taylor respectfully offers his sincere thanks to the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Settlement, and his friends and the public in general. for the liberal support he has experienced since the opening of his Seminary, which he trusts he shall continue to deserve.

With the arrival of Sir Robert Brownrigg as Governor in 1812, and of his brother-in-law, Rev. George Bisset, who was appointed assistant Chaplain,²⁷ the English schools received more attention, and by August, 1817, Bisset was able to say with regard to education that "the most obvious and striking amendment is the number of schools where English is taught."²⁸ Replying to a request from the Dutch Consistory for a grant towards a school it wished to open for the poor children of the congregation, the Governor wrote²⁸ that "The cultivation of the English language must necessarily be a principal object of any system of education to which I can in a public capacity give my concurrence" Having been satisfied on this head he agreed to pay the master a monthly salary.

(25) *Govt. Gazette*, 2 Oct. 1816. The punctuation has not been altered.

(26) *Ibid.* 1st. Sept. 1813.

(27) B. 14 March 1812.

(28) Brownrigg to Dutch Consistory, 18 Feb. 1813.

On the orders of the Commander in Chief²⁹ the Governor founded the "Military School at Colpetty for the Instruction of children after Dr Bell's plan",³⁰ of which he was Patron, and where the soldiers' children "English, Half Caste, Hindoos, Malays and Caffrees" were taught together³¹.

Lady Brownrigg's pet institution was the "Malabar school" attached to St. Thomas' Church, Kochikadde. "In the school attached to this new church and endowed by government special provision is made for a female teacher, and about 12 young Malabar girls are daily taught to read write and work, and instructed in the principles of the Christian religion³²." Lady Brownrigg "regularly once a month and frequently at intervals attends and instructs the children, especially the girls—Her Ladyship hears them read, inspects their writing and the needlework of the Females, questions them about what they have learnt, inquires respecting their conduct not only at school but at Home—reproves the idle and vicious and encourages the industrious and good by praise, and the distribution of little rewards"³³

Nor was this a singular instance of philanthropy. Sir Hardinge Giffard opened a school in Modara where all the children learnt "Cingalese reading and writing, and 72 English in addition,"³⁴ while "a number of boys and girls were educated daily under the immediate inspection" of Sir Alexander Johnston's wife at Kollupitiya. It was at this time too that Mrs. Gibson, wife of the Master Attendant at Galle, began the charity and orphan school which was afterwards moved to Buona Vista and is still in existence. In 1816 the Governor authorised a monthly grant to this school,³⁵ and ordered Bisset to "take a general superintendence of it."

A number of English schools were established at outstations. In 1812 Ehrhardt set up a school at Matara. "Owing to the distress of the times," the school fees were insufficient to pay the master, Robinson (who was a soldier's son, twenty three years old, and had a defect in one limb) his salary of 25 Rds³⁶. Accordingly Ehrhardt

(29) B. 11 Jan. 1813.

(30) Govt. Calendar for 1815 et seq.

(31) *Gazette* 30 Oct. 1816.

(32) *Gazette*. 26 July 1815.

(33) *Gazette*. 1 March 1817.

(34) Fifth Report of the Bible Society.

(35) Brownrigg to Bisset. 22 Jan. 1816.

(36) A. 10 Feb. 1813.

appealed to Twisleton, and Robinson was taken on the establishment on a salary of 20 Rds, and a Cingalese teacher appointed on 10 Rds.³⁷ The school was held in the Dutch Church.³⁸ Later, on Ehrhardt's removal to Kalutara, he "established a school in which, by the help of undermasters, children are instructed in the English, Dutch and Cingalese tongues, and on Lord's days, in the meaning of the chapters which they read,"³⁹ and we learn that Read too kept a day school, as he had before done at Galle.⁴⁰

Frederick David, who was a son of Christian David, and had been taught "English and Christian doctrines and the art of teaching according to Bell and Lancaster's system" by Colonel Molesworth, Commandant at Jaffna,⁴¹ was appointed Catechist master at Manaar, and "Master of a new school there for teaching English and Malabar"⁴²; and in 1815 Rev. Ireland, Chaplain to the Forces, opened an English school at Trincomalee for the children of "respectable Protestant natives" and of Civilian and military officers, with an English and a native teacher, who were paid by Government.⁴³

In 1817 English schools were "engrafted on" the Washers' school at Kehelwatta⁴⁴ and the Galkissa school.⁴⁵ The English teacher of the latter was directed before taking up duties to "attend at the Royal Military school for a certain number of days to pick up the mode of teaching there."⁴⁶ In 1818 a new school "where the English language is to be taught" was opened at Cowilewatta.⁴⁷ The "charges" for this school contain the following items "78 Rds and 8 fanams for . . . 12 benches of 7 cubits each in length, 3 willipillas 14 feet long 18 inches broad for sand writing, 20 pieces of thinly planed boards for pasting the sheets with letters and words."⁴⁸ In 1820 Don Lourens of Calany having built a church at his own expense, "in order to please the Divine Providence, as well as to

(37) B. 16 Feb. 1813.

(38) Extract from 23rd. report of London Missionary Society, in the *Asiatic Journal*, Oct. 1817.

(39) A. Feb 1811.

(40) A. 10 May 1813.

(41) B. 14 and 17 May 1813.

(42) A. 3 Jan. and 18 May 1815.

(43) B. 12 July 1817.

(44) B. 18 July 1817.

(45) A. 30 July 1817.

(46) B. 22 Jan and 13 Feb. 1818.

(47) 'Charges' under 6 March 1818

gain further favours from the Governor, "4 was appointed a catechist master and English Teacher at Calany.⁴⁹

Not the least among the schools established during these years was one under Christian David,⁵⁰ who, being of opinion "that it will be principally through the native Pastors that Christianity can be effectually propagated," proposed to open a "boarding school for qualifying young men for situations of schoolmasters and Catechists, who may afterwards afford a superior education to the children of others in their own and likewise make them acquainted with the English language." Owing to the contaminating influence of parents he wished, following the plan adopted by the missionaries at Tranquebar, to receive the children early, and (there being 36 parishes in the Jaffna district) he suggested 36 as the number of pupils to be received, with 3 teachers, Palm's school and his being merged in the new one. The Governor noted "orders for establishing the proposed school shall forthwith be given," and the buildings of the orphan school at Jaffna were assigned to it. By 1817 a number of Tamil and Burgher youths trained by David were already employed as schoolmasters and Catchists.⁵¹

Meanwhile the "United Schools" under Armour continued to make good progress. In 1812 there were 158 boys in the school, classified as follows:⁵¹

Boys learning the English, Cingalese and Malabar languages.	
Cingalese boys of the Vellala caste	70
from whom .. 11 can translate	
47 learning to read and write	
11 learning spelling	
of the Fisher caste learning to read and write.	5
of the Chando caste learning to read and write	2
of the Chalia caste	6
from whom .. 3 can translate	
3 learning to read and write.	
<hr/>	
total Cingalese boys	83

(48) Petition forwarded with A 3 Jan. 1820.

(49) B. 12 Jan. 1820.

(50) A. 18 Jan. 1814 and David's letter enclosed.

(51) A. 10 Dec. 1812.

Malabar boys	..	..	35
from whom	..	5 can translate	
		10 learn to read and write	
		10 learn to spell	
		10 learn the alphabet	
Boys of the Burgher description	..		40
from whom	..	22 learn to read and write	
		11 read	
		7 spell	

Grand Total 158

"The general plan of education is that the Cingalese boys learn to read and write their own language and English, and those who are inclined are also instructed in Malabar." The Tamil boys learn Tamil and English, and some Sinhalese, and "the boys of the Burgher description learn reading and writing in English, and such of them as are capable and inclined, learn Cingalese and Malabar."

Bishop Middleton visited the school in 1816, and we are told "gave a marked approbation to the correct reading and pronunciation of the Senior classes."⁵¹ "It is indeed remarkable," the account continues, "how easily the Cingalese boys catch the sounds and accents of the English language, and under the care of such an able and indefatigable master as Mr. Armour they cannot fail to make a rapid progress in their education."

Reference is also made to a son of Major Davie who had been placed in the Seminary in May, and "already reads lessons of short words and writes an exceeding good copy."⁵¹ From de Bussche⁵² we learn that "two of these youths, who received the elements of their education at this Seminary, are now in England completing their studies at the expense of the British Government, the one for the bar, and the other for the church."⁵³

Armour in addition to his duties as head of the school had become a Proctor of the Supreme Court,⁵⁴ but in 1812 he gave up that "credit-able and lucrative profession"⁵⁵ on being appointed master of the garrison school for "Caffrees"⁵⁶ on 200 Rds a month, on condition of "attending wholly to the duties of his new appointment and those

(52) De Bussche

(53) One was de Saram, who was later Assistant Colonial Chaplain.

(54) *Gazette*, Dec. 1811.

(55) A. 8 Jan. 1811.

(56) A. 19 Dec. 1812.

in the Seminary."⁵⁶ The next year, in consideration of his doing duty as Proponent in addition to his other offices, he was granted a conjunct salary of 400 Rds,⁵⁷ and a "very efficient teacher... such a one as the Cingalese youths can respect" being needed,⁵⁸ his son John Armour, who had previously been a "volunteer teacher" in the school, was appointed "to aid his father in instructing the Caffrees as well as teaching English to the Portuguese, Cingalese and Malabar youth who attend the school."

In 1812 on the death of Andries Modeliar, first Cingalese Teacher, the appointment was given to the Proponent Isaac Perera, who possessed "a certain knowledge of the English language, by which he will make himself very useful during the partial absence of Mr. Armour with the Caffrees," as well as "more knowledge of Christianity and a more vivid zeal for its extension than any Cingalese person existing."⁵⁹ In 1812 the post of Second Sinhalese Teacher was filled by Petrus Pandittasekera, who had been a Buddhist priest, and was Tolfrey's assistant in translating the Bible into Sinhalese.⁶⁰

The custom of having petitions to Government come through the school had by this time practically fallen into disuse,⁶¹ and "His Excellency directed the republication of the Government advertisement that no petition coming from Cingalese and Malabars in Colombo would be considered unless translated into English at the Seminary, and the orthography of each revised by one of the masters, as much for improving the scholars in the knowledge of English, as of increasing funds for the support of the Establishment".⁶²

At the same time the allowances of eleven boys of the "European school" were withdrawn, as they were now capable of providing for themselves.⁶³ Some were apprenticed to carpenters, others to watch makers, some were clerks, some in the printing office and some "learning to be tailors."⁶⁴ Among other economies "instead of a monthly charge for stationery, the article itself will be furnished, except pencils, which are not considered absolutely necessary."⁶⁵

In 1816 John Armour left the Seminary, intending to join the Wesleyan Mission, and was succeeded by Mr. Jacobus Harmanus de

(57) A. 11 Jan. 1813, and order.

(58) A. 7 March 1812.

(59) A. 3 Jan. 1813.

(60) B. 30 Dec. 1814.

(61) A. 10 Dec. 1812.

(62) B. 11 Jan. 1813.

Run,⁶³ who was strongly recommended by the elder Armour as "bearing an excellent character and feeling a strong attachment to the Church of England." At the same time an effort was made to get rid of Mr. Hesse, who had been Armour's assistant for some years, on the ground that he was "continually using endeavours amongst the inhabitants to set them against the Church of England." "The branch belonging to Mr. Hesse is that of teaching English to the Portuguese pupils, and it is very desirable that we should not have an Instructor for them who is an abetter of Calvinism." The Governor ordered that no time should be lost in removing Hesse, but that gentleman's zeal for Calvinism probably cooled about the same time, for he did not leave the Seminary, and in 1819 he became a Catechist in the English Church, strongly recommended by Armour.⁶⁴

One more master of the Seminary remains to be mentioned. Reference has already been made to the boys' prejudices in the matter of caste. In this matter the masters were no better than the boys. Armour reported that till the appointment of Johannes, his convert and Catechist, who took Panditta Sekara's place in 1816,⁶⁵ he "had not a Cingalese teacher that would once look at the Challia boys"⁶⁶ so that "the Challia boys have never been done justice to in the Seminary." This was remedied by the appointment⁶⁷ in August, 1816, of the converted Buddhist priest, Hendrick de Silva Wikrama, "an amiable and superior character," as teacher for Chalias⁶⁸. Three years later when he applied to be made Mohandiram, Armour wrote as follows:—"At a very serious and discouraging stage of the late rebellion he was sent into the interior on different errands of considerable importance—errands which required both courage and address in the execution. As the boys of the Mahabadde who attend the school are solely of the first class in point of rank, the promotion he prays for is, in my opinion, necessary to give him that weight which his situation as a teacher requires."⁶⁹

When we turn from the new English schools and the Seminary to the Parish schools, we see little progress being made. A number

(63) A. 5 Oct. 1816 and enclosure.

(64) A. 13 Oct. 1819.

(65) A. 18 June 1816.

(66) Enclosure with A. 20 July 1816.

(67) B. 3 June 1818.

(68) A. 18 May 1818.

(69) Enclosure with A. June 18, 1819.

of new schools were opened,⁷⁰ at the request generally of the people of the village, who in some cases put up the necessary building themselves. Among the new schools were some opened for Chaliah children, at the request of the Mudliar of Welissere Chaliah District.⁷¹

About this time we learn "the strong prejudice against female education is gradually subsiding, and in several of the Cingalese schools young girls attend, and some read with fluency the New Testament."⁷² In 1816 the first woman teacher was appointed to a government school, her name being Simona and her parish Morotto.⁷³

The Governor wrote to Twisleton that it gave him "much pleasure to find that the wishes of Government in regard to instructing the natives of the Island are met by a correspondent eagerness on the part of the inhabitants,"⁷⁴ but it seems clear that this eagerness was more apparent than real. As the people learnt that a knowledge of English was a passport to public employment it was more remarked that "the turn of the natives is very much for the learning of the English language,"⁷⁵ but there is no sign that the people were eager for education.

The main problem with regard to the country schools had always been that of adequate supervision. The want of roads and the expense of travelling⁷⁶ would have made regular inspection troublesome and costly in any case, but in addition the supervising staff was never adequate. With the appointment of Rev. J. M. S. Glenie the number of chaplains was raised in 1816 to three. The number of proponents, or "Preachers of the Gospel" as they preferred to be called, never rose beyond ten. Some of them, like Armour, David and Isaac Perera were themselves schoolmasters with little time for visiting the villages, while similar duties began, as we have seen, to be entrusted to catechist-masters. The English schools may be said to have injured the village schools by annexing the supervising staff. There were no doubt good men among Catechists and proponents, such as the Talangama proponent who

(70) A. 23 Aug. 1814, 4 May and 5 Dec. 1815.

B. 23 Jan. and 15 May 1816 etc.

(71) B. 1 Aug. 1816, 16 May 1819.

(72) Sermon by Bisset on behalf of the Bible Society, Aug. 1817.

(73) B. 11 and 24 Oct. 1816.

(74) B. Dec. 8 1815.

(75) A. 17 July 1817.

(76) A. The expenses of Armour's tour in 1813 included the wages of 36 palankeen coolies for 32 days—288 Rds—B 12 May 1813.

had "been in the employment of Government thirty six years as schoolmaster and preacher, and was highly respected by everyone. Even his daughters, of whom he has several, are all able to read the Bible, a very extraordinary thing among females in this country,"⁷⁷ but at the same time the example set by many of them was not a wholesome one. At least one proponent had to be retired as a "worse than useless minister,"⁷⁷ and one catechist who neglected his work, resigned when ordered to return to his station.⁷⁸

Twisleton had hoped that the Seminary would be able to supply young men for the service of the Church, but he was disillusioned. To quote his own words :⁷⁹ "The Cingalese pupils consist chiefly of the sons and near relations of Modliars, Mohottiaris and Mohandrams. They all know that the acquiring of the English language is the direct road to temporal honours and emolument," and he goes on to relate how one of the youths in the Seminary, who had for some time applied himself to the study of Divinity, looked back and entered a government office.

Armour expressed the same views in a letter to Twisleton. It was not easy he said to find youths in the Seminary who could join the church, those who were fit having stronger motives to refuse to be proponents. The parents were totally indifferent to Christianity. They liked ease, honour, fine dress, money—let him compare any common interpreter in all these respects with poor Perera. What a gulf between the shining Modliar and the despised Proponent. "If you offer honours, you will have Cingalese Proponents, but not Christian Preachers. Christianity will not flourish through Cingalese preachers," and he went on to show how caste prejudice prevented a sincere acceptance of Christianity, a subject on which the history of the Seminary entitled him to speak with authority.

The Missionaries of the London Missionary Society meanwhile did not prove of much use. As Twisleton pointed out⁷⁹ three of them were not British and from their "want of fluency and correctness in speaking the English language" sought the society of the Dutch.

De Vos seems to have left Galle for Colombo early and he returned to the Cape before 1814.⁷⁹ I can learn nothing more about

(77) Selkirk's *Recollections of Ceylon*, p.489.

(77) A. 28 May and 13 June 1816.

(78) A. 5 Aug. 1819.

(79) Sermon by Twisleton (1814)

(80) Armour to Twisleton 15 Feb. 1813.

him, except that "good Mr. Vos was unceremoniously shipped off by the arbitrary fiat of the ruling power of the day."⁸¹

Palm, as we have seen, opened a school at Jaffna. In 1812 he asked to be transferred to Negombo, and was appointed Proponent there,⁸² but the same year he became Minister of the Dutch Church in Colombo.⁸³

The same year Read was sent to Ambalangoda as Proponent⁸⁴ but in 1813, owing to complaints against him, his salary was stopped,⁸⁵ and he was ordered to proceed to Colombo, ⁸⁶ where he kept a school for some time.⁸⁷

Ehrhardt, "a mild, loyal, moral and religious man," but with no turn for learning languages⁸⁸, remained at Matara till 1815, when, dispirited by the long struggle, he asked and was allowed to work at Caltura,⁸⁹ but in 1817 he left Ceylon, having been appointed Missionary to the Dutch inhabitants of Cochin.⁹⁰

In the absence of efficient supervision the proper working of the country schools would naturally depend almost entirely on the character of the schoolmasters, and what reliance could be placed on them we may judge from the frequent dismissals, the reasons for some of which may be quoted: "neglect" or "continued neglect" are the most frequent. Among others are "improper behaviour"⁹¹ "forgery"⁹² "a fraud on government"⁹³ "not only addicted to liquor but quarrelsome and mischievous"⁹⁴ "not been in the village for years"⁹⁵ "confesses to not having taught a single pupil for 18 months"⁹⁶ "has never fulfilled the duties,"⁹⁷ "tied a boy by his hands to a rafter and flogged him."⁹⁸ "Notorious drunkards."⁹⁹ The warrants of appointment of these men ran: "whereas we have full confidence in the zeal knowledge virtue and piety of you the said....we have appointed you."¹⁰⁰

(81) *Ceylon Observer*. 28 Sept. 1840

(82) A. 19 March 1812.

(83) A. 12 Aug. 1812.

(84) A. 7 Jan. 1812.

(85) A. 12 Jan. 1816.

(86) B. 28 Oct. 1813.

(87) A. 29 Jan. 1816.

(88) A. A. 1 April 1817.

(89) A. 12 May 1815.

(90) Letter to Ehrhardt, 20 May, 1817. and B. 15 July 1817.

(91) A. 28 Nov. 1814.

(92) A. 26 April and 5 June 1815

(93) A. 4 Oct. 1816

(94) A. 4 Dec. 1817.

(95) A. 25 Jan. 1819.

(96) A. 22 Oct. 1819

(97) A. 13 July 1821.

(98) A. 27 July 1821

(99) A. 21 Sept 1822

(100) *s.g.* enclosure with A. June 8, 1819.

Attempts were made to place the schools on a more satisfactory footing. A memorandum by Twisleton¹⁰¹ suggested the dismissal of schoolmasters who allowed their duties as notaries to interfere with teaching, or were superannuated, or could not write and read, or were not "in some measure conversant with the Christian religion or apparently attached to it," or who favoured or followed Buddhist or Heathen ceremonies. If Government could not establish the schools "on a more liberal footing," he suggested abolishing the post of third schoolmaster,¹⁰² so that the others would be better paid. Each master was to be allowed to be absent two days a week on private affairs. One was to attend school daily for four hours. Rewards were to be given to schoolmasters who did good work, and old schoolmasters were to retire on pension. Dr Bell's plan was to be adopted in all the schools, and a school was to be opened to train schoolmasters, a dozen youths from the villages being admitted to the Seminary and taught English and Theology.

He further suggested that the attendance of children between 6 and 13 of Christian parents should be compulsory; that headmen should repair the schools; that Capuas should be prevented from frightening Christians; that Catechists and Preachers should be ordered to conduct, and Headmen to attend, Services every Sunday, and schoolmasters should inform against Headmen who neglected the order. He favoured, it is clear, a policy of "thorough," but a spirit of toleration prevailed in the Councils of Government.

For some years the country schools were "improved by occasional visits from the Wesleyan Missionaries resident in their neighbourhood."³⁴ This arrangement gave the Government, at a small expense, a means of supervising the masters and ensuring that the system produced some fruit, while as representatives of of Government the missionaries found a more ready hearing.

The fifth report of the Bible Society contains Rev. G. Erskine's report on a visit he paid in December 1816, and a few details from this may prove interesting. At Madampe, there were about one hundred and fifty children, of whom six or seven could read. Many repeated the catechism very well. At Cosgodde many children could read the new Testament well, and ten females knew the new Catechism perfectly. At Bentotte there were fifty boys and

(101) This is not dated; it occurs with correspondence (A) July 1814; but similar suggestions appear in a memorandum dated 8 Jan 1812,

(102) This was done later.

fifteen females. Six boys, and two females could read, and many repeated the Catechism very well. At Vellattera there were three hundred children present, and thirty boys and two females read well. There were only three schoolmasters, while some schools had "the same number of schoolmasters and only about twenty children to instruct." At Hickodde, Erskine was "met by" the schools of Cahaway and Kadgamme. There were a hundred and ten children in three schools, of whom thirty one could read the Testament and eighty repeated the Catechism. The Cahaway children said their Catechism "delightfully." At Galle there was no schoolhouse, but the third schoolmaster of Galle, "the most diligent and faithful schoolmaster of any in the Island," instructed forty boys in his own house.

Erskine's final summing up brings us to the heart of the matter. "These people, Reverend Sir, require attention, and nothing but having an eye on them can keep them in motion, and stir them up to perform their duty."

In 1818 Twisleton was appointed Archdeacon of Colombo,¹⁰³ and the business of "having an eye on them" was transferred to Bisset. He visited some of the schools in person the next year,¹⁰⁴ and dismissed most of the schoolmasters he met, in the hope that schoolmasters would "by these examples of severity be stimulated to increase their diligence."¹⁰⁴ He could however do little for the schools, leaving the island in 1820 with Governor Brownrigg,¹⁰⁵ when Twisleton once more became Principal of the schools.¹⁰⁶

103) B. 15 April 1818.

104) Report A 22 Oct. 1819.

THE PETA-VATTHU.

By DR. HENRY SNYDER GERMAN, PH. D.

BOOK III.

(Continued from Vol. IX, Pt. I, Page 16).

VIII. A Second Peta story of a Huntsman.

NOW while the Blessed One was living in the Bamboo Forest, he told also another story about a deer-hunter.

At Rájagaha, they say, a youthful huntsman, though endowed with prosperity, renounced the pleasures of wealth and went about night and day killing deer. A certain lay disciple who was his friend, out of compassion, admonished him : " Come, my good sir, cease from destroying life lest for a long time it be to your painful disadvantage." He was not inclined, however, to accept this advice. Then this lay brother requested another than himself, an ideal man, an Elder whose human passion was extinct : " Very well, reverend sir, teach Mr. So-and-so the Doctrine in such a way that he will keep aloof from killing."

Then one day the Elder, while making his rounds for alms in Rájagaha, stood at the door of this man's house. When the huntsman saw him, great respect arose in him for the holy man. He went out to him, led him into the house, and gave him a seat which he arranged for him. The Elder sat on the seat prepared for him. The hunter also sat down near the Elder. The latter told him the sinfulness of slaughter and also expounded on the advantage of not doing it. When he had heard him, he was not willing to give it up. Thereupon the Elder said to him : " Friend, if you cannot put an end to it entirely, stop it at least during the nights." Then with his promise, " Very well, reverend sir, I will discontinue it," he left off at nights.

In the following stanzas the Elder Nárada asked him :

1. " In an upper room as it were, in a palace, upon a couch

overlaid with a woollen coverlet, with five kinds of musical instruments you delight in that which gives good music.

2. "Then at daybreak toward sunrise you depart to the graveyard and undergo much pain.

3. "Now what sin was committed by your body, speech, or mind? In consequence of what deed have you come to this suffering?"

Then the Peta told him the following story :

4. "I, in beautiful Rájagaha, in delightful Giribbaja, formerly was a huntsman ; a sportsman was I, unrestrained.

5. "I, though of such a nature, had a friendly companion, a pious layman of the faith ; his confidant was a mendicant friar, a disciple of Gotama. And he, having compassion on me, restrained me again and again, saying :

6. 'Do not perform an evil deed lest, my good sir, you come to distress. If you desire happiness after death, put an end to your taking of life, your lack of self-restraint.'

7. "Although I heard the advice of this man who loved happiness and pitied his friend, I did not obey completely his admonition, since for a long time I had found delight in wickedness and was not wise.

8. 'Again this very wise man tenderly introduced me to self-restraint with the words : 'If you slay animals during the day, then let them alone during the night.'

9. "So I killed the animals by daytime and with self-control abstained at nights. Now I walk around by night, but during the day I am consumed in misery.

10. "In consequence of that meritorious act I enjoy a celestial night ; during the daytime the dogs that had just been driven back run up on all sides to eat me up.

11. "Those who continually are devoted to and firmly attached to the law of the Blessed One, they, I think, will attain Nirvána which is absolutely perpetual, the abode that has no cause."

IX. The Peta Story of the Fraudulent Decisions.

Now while the Teacher was living in the Bamboo Forest, he told the Peta story of the fraudulent decisions.

At that time the great king Bimbisára kept the Sabbath on six days of the month. Many people imitated him and commemorated the holy day. The king asked the men who came from time to time into his presence, "Why is the fast day observed or not observed by you ?"

Then a certain man who had been appointed to a magistracy, a slanderous and dishonest individual, who was cruel and a receiver of bribes, being afraid to state "I do not remember the Sabbath day," said, "Lord, I observe the holy day." Then a companion addressed him when he had gone from the royal presence, "My good sir, what was kept by you today?" He replied: "My friend, out of fear I said that just when face to face with the king; I do not hold the day sacred." Then his comrade said to him: "If it be merely a half Sabbath, let that now to-day be holy to you; assume the Sabbath vows."

He assented to his exhortation with the words, "All right," went homeward, and washed his face as if it had not been so; he devoted himself to the Sabbath vows, and during the night when he reached his dwelling, his span of life was cut short by a stake which came from his poor abode and fell on account of a high wind. Immediately after death he was reborn in the hollow of a mountain as a Peta, dwelling in a celestial palace.

For he, although he observed a half Sabbath only during one night, obtained his reward, receiving a suite of ten thousand maidens and enjoying great heavenly glory; but as a result of fraudulent decisions and in consequence of his backbiting, with his own hands he himself cut off and devoured the flesh of his own back. Him the venerable Nārada saw on his descent from Vulture's Peak and addressed:

1. "You wear garlands, a diadem, and a bracelet, and your limbs are rubbed with sandal ointment. You have a serene countenance, and you are radiant, lustrous as the sun.

2. "These superhuman members of the assembly appear to me as your attendants; these ten thousand maidens are your servants.

3. "They wear bracelets of shells and are adorned with golden wreaths; you are powerful, but your appearance causes one's hair to stand on end.

4. "With your own hand you cut off the flesh of your own back and eat it. Now what sin was committed by your body, speech, or mind? In consequence of what deed do you devour the flesh of your back?"

The Peta told his story in these four stanzas:

5. "To my own disadvantage I acted in the world of the living with slander and lying, with dishonesty and deception.

6. "There I went into the assembly and, when the time came to speak the truth, I repudiated the cause of justice and espoused unrighteousness.

7. "So he who backbites, devours himself, as I to-day feed upon the pieces of meat from my own back.

8. "This threefold fact has been seen by yourself, Nárada. Compassionate are they who speak appropriate words. Do not backbite, do not speak falsely lest verily you eat the meat of your own back."

X. The Peta Story of Contempt for Reliquae.

When at Kusinára, in the Upavattana grove, in the Sál forest of the Mallas, between two Sál trees, the Blessed One was reborn, and after the distribution of the relics had been made, King Ajátsattu took his portion of the holy remains. For seven years, seven months, and seven days he remembered the virtues of the Buddha and rendered him the proper worship. There a countless, immeasurable multitude of people received consolation and attained heaven. But eighty-six thousand people in number, who on account of a long-standing incredible heresy had been in error and had defiled their thoughts even in a cheering place, were reborn among the Petas.

In this same Rájagaha the wife, daughter, and daughter-in-law of a certain opulent householder took perfumes, flowers, and other offerings and started to go to the place of the holy remains, saying, "We will worship the sacred relics." The father of the family disparaged the adoration of relics by censuring them with words of abuse: "What sense is there in the worship of bones?"

But they did not mind his talk; they went there and paid their respects to the relics. They returned home and fell sick, and in a very short time departed this life. On account of such virtuous deeds they were reborn in the world of the gods. He, however, was overcome by anger and ere long passed away. As a result of his wicked works he was reborn among the Petas.

Then one day the venerable Mahá Kassapa, out of compassion for mortals, effected an exercise of such great miraculous power that men and Petas and the deities noticed it. Moreover, as he had performed it and stood in the court of the shrine, he questioned with three stanzas the Peta who had contemned the reliquae:

1. "As you stand in the atmosphere you breathe forth a stinking and foul odour, and worms are devouring your putrid face.

2. "What deed was committed by you in your former existence? Do they in consequence of that take their weapon and destroy you again and again? Do they on that account sprinkle you with alkali and cut you up repeatedly?"

3. "Now what sin was committed by your body, speech, or mind? In consequence of what deed have you come to this suffering?"

The Peta replied to him as follows:

4. "I, in beautiful Rájagaha, in delightful Giribbaja, was a respectable man, the lord of very abundant wealth and grain.

5. "I in those circumstances had this wife, this daughter, and this daughter-in-law. As they were taking blossoms of the *tamála* tree and of the blue lotus and new ointment to the relic shrine, I hindered them. That sin was committed by me.

6. "There are eighty six thousand of us; we have our individual sufferings. Since I made light of the worship at the shrine, I am grievously tormented in hell.

7. "Verily, now as regards those who in their lifetime at the shrine-worship, at the festival of a saint, reveal their sinfulness, recognize their condition by my case.

8. "And behold these women approaching, adorned and wearing garlands. They enjoy the reward of their floral offerings. Fortunate and beautiful are they.

9. "When the wise see this marvel, wonderful and thrilling, they will worship and adore you, great sage.

10. "Now when I being such have left this state and again am a human being, I shall diligently perform shrine-worship many times over."

Mahá Kassapa made this incident his text and preached a sermon to the people who were present.

A NEW SINHALESE KING AND QUEEN.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

King Ganatissa.

IN *Ceylon Notes and Queries*, Part VIII., Dec. 1916,¹ I had the following note on the above King :—

"The *Mahāvamsa* and the *Nikāya Sangrahava* make no mention whatever of a King of Ceylon of this name, but two other chronicles do :

"The *Rājaratnākara*,² which places his reign immediately after the 17 years' *interregnum* following Panduvāsudēva's death," says : 'There then succeeded a King named Ganne-tisse who governed the Island'; while

"The *Rājāvali*³ describes him as the son of Pandukābhaya whom he succeeded, and adds that he 'reigned 40 years'.

"The statement in the *Rājaratnākara* that King Ganatissa 'governed the Island' makes it certain that he was not a mere provincial ruler.

"Is there any further information about him anywhere, and why is he not included in the accepted lists of Sinhalese Kings ?"

Neither of these two queries has as yet been answered by anybody, nor have I myself succeeded, in the course of later researches, in obtaining any more information in regard to this King.

But I have some grounds to urge—and I think they are not unreasonable and are therefore worthy of consideration—why we should no longer ignore King Ganatissa, but, on the contrary, assign him a definite place between the reigns of Pandukābhaya and Mutasiva.

Firstly, without Ganatissa, the existing or rather hitherto

(1) Published by the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

(2) Upham's *Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*, p 28.

(3) *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. X. 105.

(4) Ed. 1900. p22.

accepted chronology of the earliest historical period is palpably absurd and untenable. To illustrate :

According to our Chronicles,⁶ Pandukábhaya was born shortly before the death of Panduvásudéva. Then followed the reign of Abhaya, 20 years, and an *interregnum* of 17 years. Then Pandukábhaya ascends the throne at the age of 37 years and reigns 70 years. His age would thus be $37+70=107$ years !

Or to put it thus :

<i>Pandukábhaya born</i>		474 B.C.	
Abhaya's reign .. ..	..	..	20 years
Interregnum .. ..	..	..	17 "
Pandukábhaya reigns ..	..	..	70 "
<i>Pandukábhaya dies</i> ..	..	367 B.C.	—
Pandukábhaya's age at death		107	107

And to make the case worse : Pandukábhaya's successor (according to the Chronicles referred to above) is his son Mutasiva who was born (of Suvannapáli) about the time when Abhaya was deposed, that is, 17 years before Pandukábhaya succeeded in acquiring the sovereignty. Mutasiva's age would thus be the length of his own and his father's reigns (*i.e.* $60+70$ years) plus this 17 years, that is, $60+70+17=147$ years !

Or to put it thus :

<i>Mutasiva born</i> .. ..	..	454 B.C.	
Interregnum .. ..	..	..	17 years
Pandukábhaya reigns ..	..	..	70 "
Mutasiva reigns .. ..	..	..	60 "
<i>Mutasiva dies</i> .. ..	..	307 B.C.	—
Mutasiva's age at death ..		147	147

A total of 254 years ($107+147$) for father and son is impossible. What then is the solution ?

I suggest it is the introduction, or rather the adoption, of the King Ganatissa mentioned by the *Rájaratnákara* and the *Rájávaliya* respectively, and, following the *Rájávaliya*, placing him between the reign of his father, King Pandukábhaya, and that of his son, Mutasiva.

(5) *Dípavamsa*, XI. 1. 4; *Mahāvamsa*, IX. 28., X. 103.

The 70 years' reign which the Chronicles (referred to above) give to Pandukābhaya may well be assumed to include the 40 years' rule which the *Rājāvaliya* assigns to Ganatissa. On this assumption Pandukābhaya may be said to have ruled 30 years, and all difficulty vanishes. Thus :

<i>Pandukābhaya born</i>	..	474 B.C.	
Abhaya reigns	..	..	20 years
Interregnum	..	..	17 "
Pandukābhaya reigns	..	..	30 "
<i>Pandukābhaya dies</i>	..	407 B.C.	
Pandukābhaya's age at death		67	67 years

And since, in this view, it is Ganatissa (not Mutasiva) who is born of Suvannapāli, we have here too no difficulty. Thus :

<i>Ganatissa born</i>	..	454 B.C.	
Interregnum	..	..	17 years
Pandukābhaya reigns	..	..	30 "
Ganatissa reigns	..	..	40 "
<i>Ganatissa dies</i>	..	367 B.C.	
Ganatissa's age at death		87	87 years

The Chronology of the earliest historical period may therefore be arranged in this manner :—

No.	Name of King.	Seat of Government or Capital.	Length of Reign.	Buddhist Era 543 B.C.	Christian Era.
1	Vijaya	Tambapanni-Nagara	38	1—38	B.C. 543—505
	<i>Interregnum</i> (Upatissa Regent)	Upatissa-Nagara	1	38—39	505—504
2	Panduvāsudēva	" "	30	39—69	504—474
3	Abhaya	" "	20	69—89	474—454
	<i>Interregnum</i> (Tissa Regent)	" "	17	89—106	454—437
4	Pandukābhaya	Anurādhapura	30	106—136	437—407
5	Ganatissa	"	40	136—176	407—367
6	Mutasiva	"	60	176—236	367—307
7	Devānampiya Tissa	"	40	236—276	307—267.

If further proof were needed to indicate the correctness both of my view and of the above new arrangement I suggest, I would point to the two following statements in the *Pūjāvaliya* and the *Nikāya Sangrahava* respectively :—

(a) "The aforesaid pious King Devanapétissa, the *seventh* in the line of Kings of Lanka."⁶

(b) "The *seventh* in hereditary succession was Devanapétissa, who became King of this Island....in the 236th year after the death of Buddha."⁷

Without King Ganatissa, Devánampiya Tissa would be the 6th King of Lanká, as may be seen in Professor Geiger's own list of the Ancient Kings of Ceylon.⁸

In view therefore of what I have stated above, the following conclusions seem not unreasonable, viz :—

(1) *That there was a King named Ganatissa in the earliest historical period ;*

(2) *That he governed the Island for 40 years ;*

(3) *That his reign fell between that of his father, Pandukābhaya, and that of his son, Mutasiva.*

I venture to think I can fairly claim not only to have made out a case for King Ganatissa, but also to have solved, in regard to the earliest historical period, what has hitherto been regarded as a serious chronological difficulty.

Queen Abhi Anuradhi

King Uttiya (B.C. 267-257), who succeeded his elder brother Devánampiya Tissa on the throne of Anurādhapura, had a Queen. Who was she ?

History has nothing whatever to tell us about her, but the omission has within recent years been supplied by the important Nival Nirāvi Malei cave inscription—the earliest known inscription in Ceylon—which reads thus :—

Transcript

Raja Naga jita Raja Uti jaya Abi Anuradi ca Raja Uti ca karapitase ima lena catu disasa sagaya agatagata na Pasu viharaye aparimita loka ditu yasa tana.

Translation

"Abhi Anurādhi, the wife (of) King Uttiya (and) daughter (of) King Nāga, and King Uttiya have caused this cave to be made for the Community of the four quarters, present or future, at the Pāsu Vihāra, an illustrious famous place in the boundless world."

(6) Ed. B. Gunasekara, 1895, p14.

(7) Ed. W. F. Gunawardhana, 1908, p10.

(8) Geiger's *Mahāvamsa*. Introd. pp 36, 37.

(9) For full particulars in regard to this cave inscription, see (a) *Ceylon Literary Register* Vol II. p408, "Some Early Inscriptions in Ceylon"; (b) H. C. P. Bell's *Archaeological Survey Report* for 1905, p45; (c) Parker's *Ancient Ceylon*, pp 416—423.

King Uttiya's wife, we learn thus, was named Abhi Anurádhi, and she was the "daughter of King Nága," i.e. Mahá Nága, Uttiya's elder brother, who fled from Anurádhapura to found for himself a Kingdom in Rohana.

Now, who was Abhi Anurádhi's mother? It was certainly not the Princess who fled with Mahá Nága to Rohana and who, on the way, "in the Yatthálaya Vihára....bore a son,"¹⁰ the Prince Yatthálaya Tissa.

Abhi Anurádhi's mother was in all probability the Princess Anulá, Mahá Nága's first wife, who later became a nun—the first Sinhalese nun in Buddhist History.

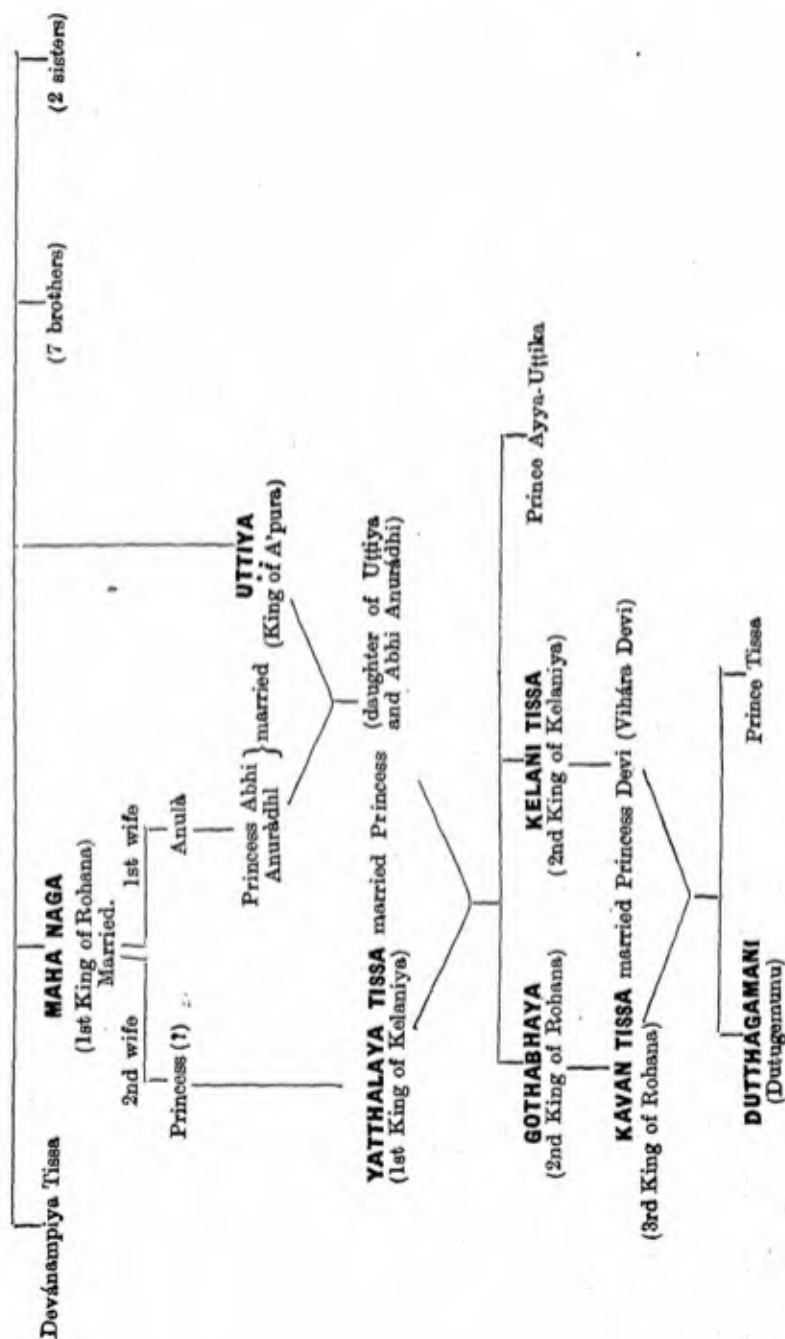
Whether it was before or after her mother became a nun that Abhi Anurádhi married Uttiya, it is difficult to say; but we know she had a daughter who in time was given in marriage to Yatthálaya Tissa, then ruling at Kelaniya. From this latter union sprang the two Princes Gothábhaya and Kelani Tissa whose children (Kavan Tissa and Dévi respectively), marrying each other, became the parents of the famous Dutugemunu.

To return to Queen Abhi Anurádhi. She was apparently greatly devoted to religion like her mother, whose piety she emulated, as is illustrated in the inscription above which records her gift to the Pásu Vihára. This latter, by the way, may be identified as the *Pacináráma*, or "Eastern Monastery," which Abhi Anurádhi's uncle, King Devánampiya Tissa, built in Anurádhapura on the site where the Bo-tree had rested while being brought from Jambukola to the capital.

As of interest in this connection, I append a Genealogical Table which may prove helpful in following the references to names in the text.

(10) *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXII. 7.

THE ROHANA AND KELANIYA DYNASTIES.



THE NINETEENTH FOOT IN CEYLON.

BY THE LATE MR. J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (RETIRED.)

I.

"THE GREEN HOWARDS' ROLL OF OFFICERS, 1688 to 1920," BY MAJOR M. L. FERRAR. (Messrs. Eden Fisher and Co., 97, Fenchurch Street, London, E.C.3. 1920. Price, 21s. net).

"THE Green Howards" are the old 19th Foot, now "Alexandra, Princess of Wales's Own (Yorkshire Regiment)," and Major Ferrar has been for many years, excluding the period of the Great War, when he was recalled to service, the Editor of the regimental Magazine, *The Green Howards' Gazette*. This "Roll" has recently been published, and is a monument to the *esprit de corps*, industry and self-sacrifice of the compiler, for it must have cost him immense trouble, worry and time to compile it, all, too, without fee or reward. It contains, "as far as can be ascertained, the name, date and place of birth, commissions, war services, medals and decorations awarded, extracts from *The London Gazette* and place of death, obituary notices, etc. In the Appendix there is similar information regarding the officers of the 3rd and Territorial Battalions, and of any temporary officers of the regiment who were attached to the Regular battalions during the Great War."

Ceylon is more interested in this regiment than in any other in the British Army, for it served for the long period of twenty-four years in the Island, a "tour of service" which no succeeding corps ever approached. From the very beginning of British rule, about 160 of the officers whose names appear in the "Roll" spent some of their service there, of whom 52, or one-third, died in the Island. The 19th has the further distinction of having from among their number supplied Ceylon with its first English poet (Capt. T. A. Anderson), and its first descriptive author—of the British régime—that is, Capt. Robert Percival. They were contemporaries in Ceylon, though Percival left before the Kandyan troubles began, and Anderson had practical experience only of the very beginning and end of them. But both had the opportunity of seeing Kandy—

Percival on an embassy of peace, and Anderson before fighting had begun there in 1803 and after it had finished in 1815.

The regiment furnished Ceylon with many officers of distinction, most of whom had seen warfare before their arrival in the Island—in the campaign in Germany and in the American War of Independence. Mention may be made of the fearless, active and untiring Major Herbert Beaver, who distinguished himself both in Holland and in the outlying districts of the Kandyan country, and died from the effects of campaigning in Travancore in 1809; of Capt. Edward Madge, famous for his defence of Fort Macdowall, who had also served in the campaign in Germany; of Capt. Arthur Johnston, who obtained still greater renown (as well as undeserved censure) for his wonderful retreat from Kandy in 1804; of Capt. Alexander Lawrence, “left for dead in the breach at Seringapatam,” afterwards the father of two most celebrated sons, Henry, the future great soldier who relieved Lucknow, and John, the future Lord Lawrence, Governor-General of India¹; of Capt. James McGlashan, who had fought at Busaco, at Albuera, and at Waterloo, and died at Kandy of fever at the age of 26. Another officer well known in his day at Kandy, Lieut. Colonel Henry Hardy, whose name is still a tradition among the Kandyans, was described by General Studholme Hodgson, also of the 19th, as “one of the best men who ever breathed—one of the most chivalrous spirits that ever adorned the ranks even of the British Army.” Yet his grave in Trinidad is unmarked, as Major Beaver’s is in Ceylon. Then there was Major Lionel Hook, who escorted the last King of Kandy as a prisoner to Colombo; Col. Donald Macdonald, who served for a long time in Ceylon and built Fort Macdonald; and Capt. Thomas Aldersey Jones, who was so much of a favourite with his brother officers and others that when, during the course of the operations in Uva he died at Batticaloa when endeavouring to shake off the fever contracted during the campaign, no fewer than three memorials were erected to his memory and the *Gazette* described him as a “pattern of military conduct.”

Of officers formerly in Ceylon who obtained the highest honours, military or civil, we have General Sir James Macdonnell, G.C.B., who as “the bravest man in the Army” won a legacy of £500, for it was he who, with the assistance of a sergeant, “closed the gates of Hugomont”; Sir Fredreick Hankey, G.C.M.G., who was wounded

(1) Percival, p. 55.

at Hanguranketa in the Kandyan Campaign of 1803, and later left with Sir Thomas Maitland for Matale, became his private secretary, and went on a mission to Tunis in 1817; Lieut. Thomas Wemyss, who was A.D.C. to his relative, General D. Wemyss, in 1803 in Ceylon, served in the Walcheren Expedition in 1809, and in numberless actions in the Peninsular War, and died a Lieut.-General in 1860; Capt. John Buchan, who served in the Mysore War, the Kandyan War of 1803, where he held several detached commands, in many battles of the Peninsular War, and became K.C.B. and a Lieut. General; General the Hon. Patrick Stuart, G.C.B., who took the 19th over from Ceylon to the Travancore War, became, like Sir Thomas Maitland, his contemporary in Ceylon, Governor of Malta. Another officer who must have spent a long time in the Island was Capt. Edmund Lockyer, who later became one of the pioneers of Australian discovery and colonisation, and who commanded an expedition for the purpose of hoisting the British flag at King George's Sound, Western Australia.

In addition to these more fortunate or successful officers whose services the 19th gave or lent to Ceylon—in the former case sometimes with their lives—there are to be reckoned, as a debt to it, the heroes, both officers and men, whose only title to fame is that they died there, sacrificing themselves for their country, either in action or by massacre, or from disease which it was beyond their power to avoid or to resist. Thomas Alexander Kennedy was the first of the Green Howards' officers to succumb—he died while in command of the escort that accompanied General Macdowall's embassy to Kandy in 1800. Lieut.-Col. Dunbar Hunter died at Trincomalee three months after the Kandy debacle. Major John William Evans, who had commanded the advance guard at the capture of that town in February 1803, died the following year at Jaffna; and Lieut.-Col. Donald McBean, who had been through the whole of the American War and in Whitelock's expedition to Buenos Ayres, died at Galle, where he was commandant in 1819. There fell at Kandy, either fighting gallantly or foully massacred, Lieuts. Hector McLaine, William Blakeney, Peter Plenderleath, and Martin Byne, Ensign Robert Smith and Quartermaster Brown. Capt. Johnston's famous retreat cost the lives of Lieut. Berkeley Vincent and Ensign Henry Littleton Smith. Lieut. Vincent had a brother in the same regiment also serving in Ceylon, Capt. William Vincent, who in 1800, "with a small party of Malay soldiers, was

attacked by a large body of natives of our settlements, but maintained a post which he had taken, with very great ability, till a body of European troops arrived to his assistance." (2)

But of these 50 officers of the 19th who died in Ceylon during its tour of service there, only seven have memorials, two who left it for posts in the civil service, the son of the Chief Secretary, the Hon. John Rodney, who had only a local commission, a Paymaster at Trincomalee, Capt. T. A. Jones, and Capt. McGlashan, and Col. McBean. Not one officer who fell in action has any memorial. One cannot but regret that the Kandyan Wars of 1803, 1815, and 1817-8 have no visible and material monument to commemorate the officers and men of many regiments, English and native, who lost their lives in and through these campaigns. It is a satisfaction when reviewing this book to reflect that some of these officers at least are not entirely forgotten.

The 19th possessed among its Ceylon officers not merely two authors, but an artist. Capt. Alexander Blackwood Vilant, who was with the escort that accompanied General Macdowall's embassy to Kandy, "made lightning sketches of some of the Kandyan chiefs." (3) One would give something now to see them if in existence, wherever they are.

and Irishman who might have stepped out of one of Charles Lever's novels, John Baker Graves, "Paddy Graves" of Kandy and Kurunegala, and to two Generals who commanded the troops in Ceylon. Studholme John Hodgson (1865-1869), who was Major and Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment for fifteen years, served with it under Colonel Hardy in Trinidad, and published in 1838 a book called "Truths from the West Indies." Also William Godfrey Dunham Massy, C.B. (1838-1893), whose gallantry with the 19th in the Crimea gave him the soubriquet of "Redan" Massy.

The book is very well got up, excellent printing on good paper, with binding as green as the regimental facings. The Colombo Museum Library, the Colombo Library, and the Library of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society should possess copies for reference.

(2) *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V., p. 167.

HOATSON'S SINHALESE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE AND MATERIA MEDICA.

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY T. PETCH.

(Continued from Vol. IX. Pt. I, Page 42)

A PURGATIVE FOR FEVERS IN GENERAL.

Singalese names.

Lin. genus and species.

Take of

Rassadia	.. <i>Mercurium purificatum</i>
Gyndegan	.. <i>Sulphur lotum</i>
Kalu-duru	.. —
Sudu-duru	.. —
Tipili	.. <i>Piper longum</i>
Manosila	.. —
Hirial	.. Yellow arsenic
Aralu	.. <i>Terminalia chebulic</i>
Sadilingam	.. Native cinnabar
Watchinabi-mool	.. —
Bulu	.. <i>Terminalia belerica</i>
Wassa wasi	.. Mace
Ingeni-etta	.. —
Palmanikum	.. <i>Sulphas Cupri</i>
Gal-mandae	.. —
Gal-nahara	.. —
Nelli	.. <i>Phyllanthus emblic</i>
Inghuru	.. <i>Zingiber radix</i>
Wada-kaha-alla	.. —
Perung-kaium	.. —
Karambu	.. <i>Caryophyllus aromaticus</i>
Gam-miris-etta	.. <i>Piper nigrum</i>
Aba-etta	.. <i>Sinapis nigra</i>
Sudu-loonoo	.. <i>Allium sativum</i>

Rat-inghuru	..	<i>Zingiber, eluat. ante exsic.</i> of each 20 madara.
Assamodagam-etta	..	<i>Apium petrosalinum</i> ... 125 kalanda.
Jayapala	..	<i>Croton tiglium</i> 250 kalanda
Kikirinde-kolla-isma	..	— q.s.

Grind for two days with the expressed juice and form into pills of the size of a peppercorn.

1 pill a dose given with an ounce of the expressed juice of the bark of "Ghaetha-nitul-gaha" as a purgative and diaphoretic.

When delirium occurs,

Take of

Rambuebada-isma	..	as much as can be held in the .. hollow of the hand.
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Dissolve one pill in this and give as a dose. The expressed juice is said to diminish the purgative effects of the pill, but it allays delirium.

In cases of Intermittent Fevers called Una, when a purge is required, the following is the form of a decoction in which the preceding pills are to be dissolved.

Take of

Inghuru	..	<i>Amomium zingiber</i>
Aba-etta	..	<i>Sinapis nigra</i>
Tipili	..	<i>Piper longum</i>
Sudu-loonoo	..	<i>Allium sativum</i>
Wada-kaha	..	—....of each 4 madara.
Wateru	..	River water....a common- sized tea cupful.

Boil so as to form a decoction.

2 pills to be dissolved in about 2 ounces of this decoction and to be taken as a purgative.

When excessive vomiting takes place, take the juice of one lime, dissolve one pill in this and give to the patient.

When jaundice accompanies Pitat Javery,

Take of

Karal-saebo-gaha-kolla and mool—a handful of each.	
Wateru	.. River water a tea cupful

Bruise, and boil for ten minutes.

1 pill to be dissolved in about 2 ounces of this decoction when cold and to be given every morning.

When the patient is unable to speak, or ringing in the ears,

Take of

Boulat-mool	..	<i>Piper betel</i>
Gam-miris-mool	..	<i>Piper nigra</i>
Wateru	..	river water.....a tea cupful

Bruise first the root, and boil so as to form a decoction.

2 of the preceding pills to be dissolved in about 2 ounces of this decoction and to be given to the patient.

In cases of griping

Take of

Inghuru	..	<i>Zingiber rad.</i>
Gam-miris-etta	..	<i>Piper nigra</i>
Aba-etta	..	<i>Sinapis nigra</i>
Perung-kaium	..	—
Abing	..	<i>Opium crudum</i>
Kumburu-etta-mada	..	—
Sudu-loonoo	..	<i>Allium sativum</i>....of each 20
	..	madara.

To form a powder by grinding.

2 of the preceding pills are first to be dissolved in about 2 ounces of water, then 1/3 of the powder is to be mixed into it and the whole to be swallowed.

The following is a form for a decoction given during the cold stage of the Ague.

Take of

Gam-miris	..	<i>Piper nigrum</i>
Inghuru	..	<i>Amomum zingiber</i>
Perung-kaium	..	—
Sudu-loonoo	..	<i>Allium sativum</i>
Nelli	..	<i>Phyllanthus emblic</i>
Ganja-kolla	..	<i>Cannabis</i> (Bang)
Vilendi	..	Toasted paddy....of each 20
	..	madara
Wateru	..	River water, a tea cupful.

Pound in a rice pounder and boil so as to form a decoction.

2 of the preceding pills are to be dissolved in 2 ounces of this decoction, and to be given when the rigors are severe.

When the patient is seized with symptoms of dysentery called Javery or Jurey-attisar when in a state of great debility after fever,

Take of

Bing kohomba	..	—
Sid-inghuru	..	<i>Amomum Zingiber</i>
Miwada	..	Honey comb
Kinda-wael	..	<i>Menispermum cordifolium</i>
Kelinde-etta	..	—.....a little of each
Wateru	..	River water.....8 measures

Pound in a rice pounder and boil to one measure.

1/3 to be given every morning as an astringent.

Another

Take of

Wangmuttu-alla	..	<i>Andropogon schoenanthus</i>
Iruveria-mool	..	—
Khotimburu	..	<i>Coriandrum sativum</i>
Beli-mool	..	<i>Crataeva marmelos</i>
Sid-inghuru	..	<i>Zingiber siccatum</i> of each
	..	a little.
Wateru	..	River water..... 8 measures

Bruise the different articles in a rice pounder and boil to one measure.

1/3 to be given every morning as an astringent.

Another

Take of

Welmi	..	<i>Glycyrrhiza glabra</i>
Maele-mal	..	<i>Bauhinia purpurea</i>....of each
	..	a little.
Wateru	..	River water..... 8 measures

Bruise the different articles and boil to one measure.

1/3 of the measure a dose.

Another

Take of

Aralu	..	<i>Terminalia chebulic</i>
Khotimburu	..	<i>Coriandrum sativum</i>
Wagapul	..	<i>Piper longum</i>
Nerinja-alla	..	—
Ikiri-mool	..	—

Dewe-duru .. *Anethum panmorium*... ..of
 .. each a handful.
 Wateru .. River water....8 measures.
 Bruise the different articles and boil to one measure.
 1/3 of the pint a dose.

Dysentery, when a primary disease, is called Lohidan Atisar.
 When the disease is ushered in with fever, pains in the bones,
 and frequent stools with blood,

Take of

Oundu-pieli .. *Trifolium repens*
 The kernel of a ripe cocoanut.....of each equal quantities.
 Pound in a rice pounder and squeeze out the juice, which
 is to be given every morning for three mornings fresh prepared.
 Rice and conjee (the diet and drink) allowed.
 If this remedy does not prove effectual,

Take of

Attikka-gaha-potu .. —.....a handful
 The kernel of a ripe cocoanut.
 Pound and squeeze out the juice, to be taken as a laxative.
 This remedy not proving effectual,

Take of

Kadumberia-gaha-potu .. —.....a handful.
 The kernel of a ripe cocoanut.
 Pound in a rice pounder and squeeze out of the juice, to be
 taken every morning as a astringent.

Or

Take of

Kaduria-gedi-wael-wateru .. —.....20 madara.
 Tala tel ..*Sesamum orientale*, 20 madara.
 Mix and give to the patient as a laxative.

Or

Take of

Diwul-latu .. Gum.....20 madara.
 Elinga tel .. Cow's ghee.....40 madara.
 Mix and give every morning for seven days as a laxative.

Then the following is to be given,
Take of

Attitudeyan-alla	..	—
Assamodagan	..	<i>Apium petrosalinum</i>
Kalu-duru	..	—
Sudu-duru	..	—
Sadika	..	<i>Necus moschata</i>
Karambu	..	<i>Caryophyllus aromaticus</i>
Wassa wasi	..	Mace
Abing	..	<i>Opium crudum</i>....of each 20 madara.
Diwul-latu	..	Gum
Haldumala-latu	..	—.....of each 40 madara.
Ganja-kolla-isma	..	<i>Cannabis</i> (bang).... q.s.

Grind to a fine powder and form a mass with the expressed juice. The mass to be exposed in the shade to a current of air till dry.

20 madara of the dried mass to be mixed in honey and given every morning and evening for three days.

Sinhalese Remedies for Cholera Morbus.

<i>Singalese Names.</i>	<i>Lin. genus and species.</i>
Take of	
Rahadia	.. <i>Mercurium purificatum</i>
Watchinabi	.. —
Abing	.. <i>Opium crudum</i>
Sadika	.. <i>Necus moschata</i>....of each 20 madara.
Hirial	.. Yellow arsenic
Sadilingan	.. Native cinnabar....of each 10 madara.
Ganja-kolla-isma	.. (Bang leaves)....q.s. to form a mass.

Take a hard boiled egg, remove the shell, and cut it into halves ; remove the yolk, and put the mass in its place, and cover it with the other half of the white of the egg. Put this into a small cup made of baked clay, and place the cup containing the medicine on a small fire made of cocoanut shells till the white of the egg turns quite

black. The medicine is now to be taken out, and to be pounded on a curry stone till finely pulverized ; it is then to be formed into a mass with expressed ginger juice fit to be made into one grain pills.

2 pills a dose with a little Kohumba tel.

When the vomiting has been arrested.

Take of

Diwul-latu	..	Gum.....10 madara
Tala-tel	..	<i>Sesamum orientale</i> , 1 kalanda
Wateru	..	River water....3 tea cupfuls
Mix and boil to one cupful.		

1/3 of this with 5 of the preceding pills dissolved in it to be given every morning for three successive days.

Singalese Medicines which by external application to the abdomen are said to act as purgatives.

<i>Singalese names</i>	..	<i>Lin. genus and species.</i>
Take of		
Daetalle mool	..	The root of the Talipot and Palmyra palms taken in equal parts is Daetalle mool.
Trusta-wael-mool	..	<i>Convolvulus turpethum</i>
Khatarulu-mool	..	—
Kappettia-mool	..	<i>Croton lacciferum</i>
Aralu	..	<i>Terminalia chebulic</i>
Sid-inghuru	..	<i>Zingiber siccatum</i> ...of each $\frac{1}{2}$ a handful.

Grind on a curry stone, then take one Daluc-palla (*Euphorbium antiquorum*) cut it open, and put the medicine into it, and close it up with another leaf of the Daluc and bind it firmly round with cocoanut leaf. Cover this with live embers and leave it to boil. Take out the medicine and squeeze out the juice of the roasted Daluc-palla and grind with this juice on a curry stone.

This medicine to be rubbed round the navel ; as soon as it has produced four or five stools, it is to be washed off with warm water.

Boiled rice is to be given to eat, after the number of stools has been produced and the medicine has been washed off the part to which it had been applied.

Another formula for the same purpose

Take of

Jayapala	..	<i>Croton Tiglium</i>
Aeholle-potu	..	<i>Cassia fistula</i>
Kappettia-potu	..	<i>Croton lacciferum</i>
Indenu-etta	..	—
Sudu-loonoo		<i>Allium sativum</i>
Kurundu-potu	..	<i>Laurus cinnamomum</i>
Ela-khatarulu-mool	..	—
Sid-inghuru	..	<i>Zingiber siccatum</i>
Sahinda-lunu	..	<i>Sal Ammoniac</i> , of each 1 Kalanda.

Grind on a curry stone with lime juice, so as to form a thin mixture. The parts around the navel, to which the medicine is to be applied, are to be previously anointed with Tala-tel, then the remedy is to be well rubbed in, and the parts to be covered with Atana-kolla (*Datura stramonium*) heated.

If the effect is not produced,

Take of

Kukuru-mang-gedi-mada	..	—
Hiang-Dumbulu	..	Chimney soot
Balal-lunu	..	—
Trikatooka	..	By this term Singalese understand Ginger, black pepper, and Tipili mixed in equal proportion.
Ooks-hakuru	..	Soft sugar....of each $\frac{1}{2}$ a handful.

Grind on a stone with bullock's urine, then add more urine and boil in a chatty for ten minutes. Take a strip of cotton cloth, roll it up in the shape of a candle wick, dip it into the decoction and introduce it *per anum*, where it is to remain till the effect wished for is produced.

Singalese remedies for Sore Eyes.

When the inflammation of the eyes is attended with a copious discharge from the eye lids,-

*Singalese Names**Lin. genus and species.*

Take of

Ingeni-etta	..	—
Rat-handung	..	Red sandal wood
Rat-mal	..	<i>Ixora coccinea</i>
Pilal-mal (Jack tree flowers)	..	<i>Artocarpus integrifolia</i> ..of each
Tana-kiri	..	Woman's milk (a little) a cup- ful

The Ingeni-etta and sandal wood are to be ground first on a curry stone, and then to be mixed with the milk and flowers.

The eyes are to be bathed with this frequently.

Another

Take of

Iruveria-mool	..	—.....a small piece.
Tana-kiri	..	Woman's milk..a little.

Grind on a stone with the milk and anoint the inside of the eye lids.

Another

Take of

Komarika-palu	..	<i>Aloes perfoliata</i>
Sudu-handung	..	White sandal wood
Samam-pitcha-mal	..	<i>Jasminum grandiflorum</i> ..of each a little.
Tana-kiri	..	Woman's milk..a little.

Grind on a stone and mix with the milk,

Pour the whole into the eyes.

Another

Take of

Mudu-penni	..	Salt gathered from the sand on the sea beach.
Kiri-kandi	..	—....1 kalanda of each.

Roast the Kirikandi, and grind with the salt and a little lime juice. Mix a little with some fresh cow's butter, and apply to the inside of the eyelids and surface of the eye itself.

Another

Take of

Mudira-palang	.. <i>Vitis indica</i>
Dewe-Dare	.. Fir wood knot shavings
Aralu	.. <i>Terminalia chebolic</i>
Bulu	.. <i>Terminalia beleric</i>
Nelli	.. <i>Phyllanthus emblic</i>
Khatu-wael-battu	.. .....of each 10 madara.
Mi-penni	.. <i>Mel apium</i> , a little.

Grind with the honey on a curry stone, and form into pills of 10 grains each, dry them by exposure to a current of wind in the shade and preserve them in a bottle for use.

Take a little lime juice and cow's ghee with one pill. Rub them together. Apply this to the surface of the eye and inside of the eyelids.

Again, take one of the preceding pills and grind it to a fine powder to be snuffed up the nose.

Another form of medicine to be used after the preceding, and when the eyes are getting better and before the patient goes to bathe in cold water,

Take of

Aehelle-kolla	.. a considerable quantity.
Pound in a rice pounder	

Take of

Ella-kiri	.. Cow's milk, 1½ measure,
Mix the pounded leaves of the <i>Cassia fistula</i> in the milk.	

The upper part of the head to be washed with this medicine, on the day preceding the final ablution in cold water. It is the custom with the Singalese, and I believe with almost all the inhabitants of the eastern world, to wash all over in cold water and sometimes in warm, immediately after recovering from any disorder.

Another for the same purpose as the last.

Take of

Kalanduru-alla	.. <i>Andropogon schoenanthus</i>
Rassakinda-wael	.. <i>Menispermum cordifolium</i>
Sevia-mool	.. —3 kalandas of each.

Grind on a curry stone to a fine powder, then

Take of

Elu-kiri .. Goat's milk..as much as is sufficient to wet the powder ; put into a bottle and keep for use. A little is to be rubbed on the upper part of the head.

When inflamed eyes are attended with fever, pain in the head, etc.

Take of

Sadilingan	.. Native cinnabar
Watchinabi	.. —
Wuncara-lunu	.. —
Pooscure	.. Rosin
Rat-handung	.. Red sandal wood
Sinukaran	.. —
Sahinda lunu	.. <i>Sal ammoniac</i>
Rassadia	.. <i>Mercurium purificatum</i>
Karambu	.. <i>Caryophyllus aromaticus</i>
Wassa-wasi	.. Mace
Tipili	.. <i>Piper longum</i>
Sadika	.. <i>Necus moschata</i>
Kalu-duru	.. —
Sudu-duru	.. — of each 10 madara.
Jayapala	.. <i>Croton tiglium</i> , 35 kalanda

Mix, and grind with the juice of Cansa ; grind again with lime juice, and form into 2 grain pills ; dry them in the shade and keep them for use.

When the hot stage of fever is attended with cough and a pain in the chest and loins and a tendency to a delirium,

Take of

Aralu	.. <i>Terminalia chebulic</i>
Bulu	.. <i>Terminalia beleric</i>
Nelli	.. <i>Phyllanthus emblic</i>
Patpadagan	.. <i>Hedyotis herbacea</i> ..of each 1 kalanda.

Wateru .. River water..3 tea cupfuls.

Bruise in a rice pounder and bou to one cupful.

1/3 of this with two of the foregoing pills dissolved in it to be given every morning for three days.

After the lapse of three days if the fever still continues to recur,

Take of

Kukuru-mang-gedi-potu .. —....a quantity.

Bruise on a curry stone and squeeze out the juice.

Take one pill and break it into the juice, fill the patient's mouth with water and pour the medicine into his nose,

Another remedy which may be tried if a cure is not performed,

Take of

Kohumba-tel	..	—
Elinga-tel		Cow's ghee
Mi-tel	..	—
Tala-tel	..	<i>Sesamum orientale</i>
Hinguru-putta-isma	..	—
Dodang-embul	..	Sour orange juice
Sine	..	Sugar
Mi-penni	..	Honey
Welmi-isma	..	Expressed liquorice juice..of each a little.

Mix, dissolve one of the pills in the mixture, and give the whole as a dose. It will act as a gentle purge, producing two or more stools.

Another dose of the same with 2 pills dissolved in it may be given; a third dose with three pills dissolved in it may be given; the whole within the 24 hours.

If the fever still continues in consequence of the local inflammation in the eyes going on,

Take of

Boulat-isma	..	Expressed betel juice
Inghuru-isma	..	Expressed ginger juice..of each a little.

Mix, and dissolve half in the mixed juice and rub round the eyes, and apply a little to the inside of the eyelids.

Another form of medicine for the same complaint,

Take of

Baema-kiri-isma	..	—
Kandul-lessa-isma	..	—
Watessa-isma	..	—....of each a little.
Kalu-vi	..	<i>Oryza nigra</i>
Vilendi	..	Toasted paddy..of each a .. a little.
Eleru-tel	..	a little.

Grind the toasted paddy and Kalu-vi on a curry stone, then mix the whole together.

Take two of the preceding pills and break them into the mixture, and cause the patient to swallow the whole for a dose.

(To be continued.)

Notes & Queries.

THE FIRST ENGLISH CHAPLAIN IN CEYLON.

By the late MR. J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

IN his paper on "The First English School in Ceylon," (*Cey. Ant.* Vol. VII, pp. 141-7) Mr. L. J. Gratiaen seems to be under the impression that the Rev. James Cordiner was the first English chaplain in Ceylon. But that Clergyman had a predecessor—This was the Rev. Philip Rosenhagen, who was born in 1737, entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, of which college he was a Fellow from 1761 to 1771, was Naval Chaplain on H.M.S. *Suffolk* in 1796, and on the arrival of the flagship at Colombo was appointed to do duty with the troops ashore. He retained this appointment until his death there in April, 1799, but was not confirmed in it by the Board of Directors of the East India Company, which in fact, too late, ordered it to be revoked.

In order to obtain a pension he told Lord North, the Prime Minister, that he was the author of the *Letters of Junius*, but, says his biographer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "this story was not believed—except by his son." He had spent most of his time abroad, chiefly in France. He is described as "a loose fish, and not a member of whom the College can be proud." *Admissions to St. John's College, Cambridge*, 1903.) But he seems to have been a man of some ability, as he was a Fellow of that distinguished foundation, and is considered notable enough to warrant his inclusion in the *D.N.B.*, to which Archdeacon Bailey, Bishop Chapman, the first Bishop of Colombo, and the earliest students of Ceylon Buddhism, Gogerly and Spence Hardy have been refused admission.

There is at least one interesting event in his career. He officiated at the marriage—at Colombo, on 4th August, 1798,—of Lieutenant Colonel John De Morgan and Miss Elizabeth Dodson, the

parents of Professor Augustus De Morgan, the celebrated mathematician, and ancestors I believe of William De Morgan, the novelist and art craftsman. This the first marriage at Colombo, or in Ceylon, of English people of which there is any record in the annals of Fort St. George or anywhere.

COLOMBO IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

By L. J. GRATIAEN.

MR. Edmund Reimers, Government Archivist, allows me to quote, in connection with my article on this subject in the April number of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, the following extracts from a lecture delivered by him on "The Capture of Manaar and Jaffna by the Dutch".

13th January 1658. "In the 'Memorie' given by van Goens to van der Meyden appear instructions for reducing the size of the fortress of Colombo. Van der Meyden was to employ the services of an Ensign on board the 'Naarden' for the purpose. All houses outside the new town limits up to 'Townhall Street' were to be demolished and the elevation of the fortress increased with the rubble. The 'plein' or square was also to be flooded in case of attack." (19th January, 1658) van Goens....again impressed on van der Meyden the importance of "cutting off" Colombo (from the Oude Stad or old city) with the help of an engineer who should be sent to him by the 'Maarden,' "according to the science of geometry."

THE CHURCH OF THE PALAVELIS.

By REV.. S. GNANA PRAKASAR, O.M.I.

THE *Foral* of Jafanapatam, as presented by Dr. Pieris, says: At Jaffna "there were two Dominicans, one at the *Casa* of Nossa Senhora do Regno and the other at N. S. dos Remedios among the *Palavelis*:"¹ We have a little more information in the *Historia*

1. *The Kingdom of Jafnapatam* by Dr P.E. Pieris p. 29.

*de S. Domingos*² wherein we read: In the Kingdom of Jafanapatao the Congregation of S. Dominic "had a House and Vicarage with the title of the Rosary, a beautiful church well adorned, with a Confraternity of the same Lady (of the Rosary) which was administered by the Indians with devotion and expenditure; this house maintained 2 Monks, the Vicar and his companion. One league outside the town there stood the Parochial Church of the Paravelins, in which a Monk resided, converting, baptising and administering the sacraments to the natives of the land."

Local tradition affirms that the Dominican convent i.e. *Casa*, was somewhere between the present church (Protestant) of St. John and the Catholic cathedral. This agrees with what Baldaeus says, to the effect that the church and monastery of the Dominicans stood on the east side of the town.³ But what was the location of the parochial church? I have come across no local tradition with regard to this. But, by comparing Baldaeus' map of Ceylon (opposite p. 667) with his picture of the Jaffna fort (opposite p. 794), we can safely conclude that it was the village of Návánturai, about a mile to the west of the fort. In the map, he marks Palvalys near the fort, between it and Batocotta. In the picture of the fort, we are glad to find the Dominican church itself figured at the farthest end near the horizon. To ascertain that this structure is a church and nothing else, compare it with the Franciscan church within the fort, in the same illustration.

The present Catholic church of Návánturai still counts a large number of Palluvilis among its congregation.

SLAVE TRAFFIC UNDER THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

By the late MR. J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S.

FROM a file of Dutch Mss which, twenty years ago, was kept in the Kachcheri at Galle, but is now I think in the custody of the Government Archivist, I noted the following particulars as to the sales of certain slaves in the eighteenth century.

2. *História de S. Domingos* por Fr. Luis Caeagas, Lisboa, 1767. IV parte p. 270
I am indebted to Father S. G. Perera S.J. for this extract.

3.—Baldaeus, *Description of Malabar and Coramandel* in Churchill's collection of *Voyages* III., 794.

The "slave maid" Jasemin was sold at Trincomalee in 1752 by Joan Adriaan Van Lieu to Mattys Pietersz for 40 rix-dollars.

Mattys Pietersz was able, within the year, to make a profit of 95 per cent out of her, for, in October, he sold her to Andreas Jacob de Lij, the Commandeur at Galle, for 78 rix dollars. This sale took place at Galle.

But the Galle Commandeur took nothing, for he sold her next year to Claas van Zitter, Under Merchant and Secretary of "Politie en Justitie," at Mannar for 78 rix dollars, 48 stuivers.

The market for slaves did not improve, for Claas van Zitter sold her at Galle in 1755 to Gerrit de Vos, who was then Bookholder and Resident at Porca, for 70 rix dollars.

And the same price contented Gerrit de Vos in 1759, when he sold her back to Claas van Zitter.

She was finally sold by public auction at Galle on 16 May, 1770, to the Assistant, Hendrik Johannes Hingertsz. I regret to say that I have either failed to discover the price or perhaps to record it when found.

At the same auction, two other slaves of Claas van Zitter, viz. Diogenes and Jonas, were sold to Abraham Namboe and Harmanis Engelbregt respectively. Jonas had been purchased at Porca in 1759 by Claas van Zitter from Pieter Schemering, Corporal and Postholder at Alpe. (Where is "Alpe"?) He had also purchased from Hendrik Claas, "Fies Corporal" at Porca in 1763, a slave named Diogo. This may be the same Diogenes.

This auction of slaves of van Zitter may have been due to his death, for, in December, 1770, the Resident at Porca was Abraham Toussaint, Bookholder, who for his part sold four slaves to the Captain of the ship *Renswonde*.

It seems to have been the practice to give poetical, classical and scriptural names to slaves, who apparently were not allowed, or did without, surnames. This accounts for the existence of names of the former class still in the larger towns, such as Colombo, Galle and Jaffna.

"Porca" is the curious residuum to which the Tamil name *Purakkadu*, belonging to a place on the coast of Travancore of considerable importance in Portuguese and Dutch times, has been reduced under Dutch usage.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SINHALESE "VÁSALA."

By S. W. COOMARASWAMY.

THE contribution dated 4.8.23, to the Colombo Dailies from the facile pen of A. M. Gunasekara Mudaliyar, on the signification of the Sinhalese *Vásala* in the title "*Rāja Vásala Mudaliyar*" has brought to light an interesting, and no less amusing, etymological account of *Vásala* and of its relationship to the Tamil *Vásal*. He observes that the word in question is composed of the two Sinhalese words *Vása* (dwelling) and *Ala* (house), and further that the Tamil word *Vásal* means "gate" only, and that it may be connected with the Sinhalese word or its Sanskrit equivalent, *Vásalaya*.

This observation appears to me to be as ill-founded as it is fanciful. The learned Mudaliyar, who asserts that *Vása* and *Ala* are the component parts of *Vásala*, and thereby ventures to say that the word primarily signifies a *dwelling house*, admits however that it also means a "door" or "gate." As the Mudaliyar does not say that *Vásala*, with the latter meaning, is etymologically a different word from what figures in his "*Rāja Vásala*", one has naturally to conclude that, in this Oriental scholar's opinion, they are but one and the same word with two meanings closely connected, though different.

Now, if the Tamil *Vásal* (properly *Váyil*) be connected with the Sinhalese *Vásala*, it would be not only presumptuous but preposterous to trace the former to the Mudaliyar's *Vása* and *Ala*. The Tamil word has its own history to tell. It is not a Sanskrit derivative, but a very ancient Tamil name which has no connection whatever with the Sanskrit-Sinhalese *Vása* (a dwelling) from root *Vas* "to dwell". It is one of those words which old Tamil grammarians quote as examples of *Póli* (Metathesis). It is really *il-váy* (literally "house-mouth" or "house-aperture," Ex *il-a* "house" and *Váy*, the "mouth," or an "opening").

This word has, however, assumed several forms even in Tamil. In the classics we find not only *Váyil*, but *Váyal*, and *Váytal*, and in colloquial use the form that generally finds favour is *Vásal*. Nor is the application of this term in Tamil confined to the gate, or door of a house, castle, palace or temple. It has a far wider range of meanings, of which the following are some:—

1. an opening or aperture,
2. the mouth and other avenues to the body,
3. the sense organs.
4. medium or means.
5. an account, history or details, of an event.
6. a message or an embassy.

Váyilór (literally "those at the gate") means "gatemen," "gate-keepers," "warders," or "guards" of the sovereign.

The *Váyilór*, or *Kadai-káppálar* (the guards at the Royal Gate, Ex *kadai*—a "gate" and *káppálar*—"guards"), who correspond to the Aryan *Dváríkas Dvárásthás*, or *Dvárádhípas*, are reckoned as one of the eight mighty classes which render assistance to an Eastern Monarch (*Arasar-en-pér-áyam*), the other seven being the ministers, the sub-rulers or superintendents, the fivefold royal dependants, the citizens of the metropolis, the commanders of the army, the cavaliers, and the warriors on elephants (vide *Pingalandai*) and the commentary on *Silappadikaram*). The word *Váyilór* serves also to denote the Tamil dancers, or comedians, as being masters of the sense organs; a further signification is "messengers." I may add that in such Tamil expressions as *Oruvan Vásal mitikkiratu*, *Rája vásalukku pókiratu*, *Tiru vásalukku pókiratu*, the word *vásal* is used metonymically to designate a "house," a "palace" and a "temple" respectively. The Tamil term *Talai-vásal* denotes not only the main gate, but "the ante-chamber of a house, palace or temple."

As for the Mudaliyar's analysis of the Sinhalese *Vásala*, I should call it arbitrary and unscientific. The combination of *Vása* and *Ala* would properly give us *Vásála* and not *Vásala*. As our learned grammarian is fully aware, the final 'a' in the one and the initial 'a' in the other would be replaced by a long 'a' in the compound, and it is euphonic coalition of this kind that the Sanskrit grammarians call *dirgha-sandhi*. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the two simple words in question belong originally to two different families of languages, the one being Aryan and the other Dravidian or Tamilian.

The word *ala* is obviously the Tamil *alai* in Sinhalese garb. This Tamilian vocable is but a secondary form of the Tamil *Valai* (Malayalam *Vala*), which comes from the root *Val* "to pass round, to surround, to cut out in a circle, to dig in a circle, to scoop out," and which primarily means "a hole" or "cavity." The form *Alai* bears the additional meaning of "a cell" or "small room," as in the word *adukkalai* (cook-house from *adukku*—"cooking," and *alai*—"a room"). For the loss of the initial 'v' in *Valai*, compare the following pairs of Tamil words:—*Vari* and *Ari* "a line"; *Valavu* and *Alávu*—"to mix"; *Vayá* and *Ayá*—"fatigue"; *Vayir* and *Ayir*—"sharpness"; *Vavvu* and *Avvu*—"to grasp."

Turning the attention now to the alleged Sanskrit *Vásalaya*, from which our learned linguist would have us derive the Tamil *Vásala*, I regret that so profound a Sanskrit scholar as Monier Williams does not recognise such a name (with a short *a* in the second syllable) for a "place" or a "house" in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. He gives such compound words as *Vása-griha*, *Vásabhavana*, *Vása-bhūmi* and *Vásarukas*, but not the Mudaliyar's favourite compound. It is however possible to form a compound like *Vásálaya* (with a long *a* in the second syllable) to mean "a dwelling house," but the application of such a name to a royal mansion or palace is probably unknown to the Aryans of North India. Even in the South, royal residences are not called by the ordinary names for dwelling houses, but such dignified terms as *Kóvil*, *aramanai*, *mádam*, *málikai* etc.

Now, with regard to the real meanings which the Sinhalese *Vásala* conveys, Clough enumerates the following:—

(1) door, (2) gate, (3) gate or entrance to a city, (4) royal gate, (5) entrance or ante-chamber of a palace. Should our Mudaliyar, or any other Sinhalese scholar, quote instances of the use of simple *Vásala* in the sense of a "palace", it would not take a philologist aback, for the elevation and deterioration of words are not an uncommon feature in the growth of language. In this case the development of meaning from "an ante-chamber in a palace" to "a palace," would be quite easy and natural.

A further proof in support of the fact that a "door" or "gate" is the original signification of *Vásala* is afforded by the parallel Zend word *dváram*, which radically and primarily signifies a "gate" or "door," and metaphorically "a palace." No linguist would ever question this order of development in the meanings; for all

the words that correspond to *dvāram* in the other Aryan languages do bear the meaning of "door" or "gate," or *something connected therewith*. The following are a few prominent examples :—Sans. *dur, dura, dvār, dvāra* ; Gr. *thura, thureos, thuris, thuron* ; L. *foris, foras* ; Goth. *daur* ; Ger. *thur* ; Icel. *dýr* ; Ir. *dorus* ; A. Sax. *dor, duru*. E. *door*.

It is now clear as daylight that the Tamil *Vásal* and the Sinhalese *Vásala* are not different words but the same word in slightly different forms. The change of form in the latter is similar to what is found in the following Sinhalese words of Tamil origin.

Tam ;	Agal.	Sin ;	Agala-a ditch.
„	<i>Eddam</i>	„	<i>Aḍḍama</i> -aloof.
„	<i>Aḍḍangu</i> .	„	<i>Aḍḍanguwa</i> -to be included.
„	<i>Aḍḍai</i> .	„	<i>Aḍḍaya</i> -a plug, or stopper.
„	<i>Aḍḍi</i> .	„	<i>Aḍḍiya</i> -the foot, the bottom of any thing.
„	<i>Aḍḍukku</i> .	„	<i>Aḍḍukkuwa</i> -a pile.
„	<i>Aḍḍu</i> .	„	<i>Aḍḍuwa</i> -pincers.
„	<i>Aḍḍai</i> .	„	<i>Aḍḍaya</i> -a patch.
„	<i>Kuḍḍai</i> .	„	<i>Kuḍḍaya</i> -an umbrella.
„	<i>Kaḍḍālam</i> .	„	<i>Kaḍḍālama</i> -a pair of cymbals.
„	<i>Kachchu</i> .	„	<i>Kachchiya</i> -a full piece of cloth.
„	<i>Kaḍḍu</i> .	„	<i>Kaḍḍuwa</i> -a bundle.
„	<i>Kuḍḍi</i> .	„	<i>Kuḍḍiya</i> -fetlock joint.
„	<i>Kurumbai</i> .	„	<i>Kurumbāwa</i> -a young coconut.
„	<i>Kurupi</i> .	„	<i>Kurupiya</i> -a dry measure.
„	<i>Kuḍḍam</i> .	„	<i>Kuḍḍama</i> -a pair.
„	<i>Kuḍḍu</i> .	„	<i>Kuḍḍuwa</i> -a nest.
„	<i>Kuraippai</i> .	„	<i>Kuraipayiya</i> -a wallet.
„	<i>Kenḍai</i> .	„	<i>Kenḍaya</i> -the calf of the leg.
„	<i>Kaipidi</i> .	„	<i>Kaipidiya</i> -a handle.
„	<i>Pokkanam</i> .	„	<i>Kokkanama</i> -a mendicant's wallet.
„	<i>Kuḍḍaram</i> .	„	<i>Kuḍḍarama</i> -a tent, a hood.
„	<i>Kaiyoli</i> .	„	<i>Kaiyeliya</i> -a cloth with coloured border
„	<i>Kōlam</i> .	„	<i>Kōlam</i> -a mask or disguise.
„	<i>Kāppu</i> .	„	<i>Kāppuwa</i> -a bracelet.
„	<i>Kulappu</i> .	„	<i>Kulappuwa</i> -an agitation.
„	<i>Kollai</i> .	„	<i>Kollaya</i> -plunder.

The foregoing list can be swelled *ad libitum*, and the Tamil words therein traced to genuine Tamilian roots. In view of this

fact, and of the pronouncement made by the Mudaliyar himself, in his Sinhalese Grammar, that "*Dravidian words have had a strong hold on the language*" (i.e. Sinhalese), he should unhesitatingly admit that *Vásala* is one of those doughty old Dravidian words and that the Sinhalese people have done it a special honour by elevating it to the rank of *Máligáwa*.



Literary Register.

IN CEYLON A CENTURY AGO.

The Proceedings of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society.

WITH NOTES BY T. PETCH.

(*Continued from Vol. IX. Pt. I. Page 70*)

1830.

AT a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held at the King's House on Monday, the 10th. May, 1830. *Present* :—

His Excellency the Governor	
Hon'ble Robert Boyd	
William Granville, Esquire	C. E. Layard Esquire.
Revd. De Saram	Revd. B. Clough
Lieut. Colonel Walker	Lieut. Colonel Fraser
Lieut. Colonel Churchill	Captain Schneider

The Secretary reports that Major Colebrooke and H. Cameron, Esquire, His Majesty's Commissioners of Enquiry, and J. Gregory, Esquire, Secretary to the Commissioners have long been desirous of becoming Members of this Institution.

It is resolved *nem. con.* that as no Meeting of the Society has been held since the of November 1826 to afford an opportunity for Ballotting for new members that these Gentlemen be admitted as Members without further formalities.

Royal Asiatic Society.

His Excellency the Governor states that the principal object of calling this Meeting is to promote and carry into effect the wishes of the Asiatic Society in England as detailed in their letter to him of June 19th, which is read.

Royal Asiatic Society's House
Grafton Street London

June 19th, 1828.

Sir,

We trust that we may with confidence address you on the subject of the accompanying Prospectus which has received the most general approbation in this country and promises the most valuable results to Oriental Literature.

Although the Oriental Translation Committee confidently rely on the abilities and zeal of learned individuals in England still they look to their highly gifted countrymen in the East for great and efficient assistance.

This expectation we are convinced will not be disappointed and we address you as Governor of Ceylon to solicit your powerful aid in the promotion of the extensive and important objects that are stated in the Prospectus.

Our views in this letter are directed to the formation of an efficient Corresponding Committee in Ceylon and we presume to request that you will make a selection of persons from among the Europeans and Natives residing within your Government to constitute that Committee.

When the Committee is appointed we shall be obliged by your transmitting this Letter to them and we request that they will guide themselves by the Spirit of the Prospectus of which a considerable number are sent for distribution by them.

The Corresponding Committee is requested to make such additions to the prospectus as local circumstances may render necessary and to have them addressed to the persons referred to in the enclosed List and to such others as they may consider likely to promote their views.

The expense of making those additions and of printing more Prospectuses (if those sent are not sufficient) as also that of transcribing translations and procuring their Oriental originals for the Committee in England will be defrayed by that Committee if, contrary to expectation, the sum collected in the Island of Ceylon is inadequate to the payment.

The Corresponding Committee is empowered to add to their number, to make bye-laws agreeing with the Spirit of the Prospectus, to suggest to the Committee in England improved means for attaining their objects, and to appoint Houses of Agency to

receive subscriptions; they will also present those rewards or medals which may be awarded at Home to Residents in the Island of Ceylon and transmit Copies of the Works printed by the Committee in England to subscribers residing in that Island. Their most important duty however will be obtaining and transmitting to the Committee at home translations of Oriental MSS. accompanied by the original texts.

It is desirable that a Meeting of the Subscribers residing within your Government should be held annually in December to receive a report from the Corresponding Committee and to be informed of what has been done by the Committee in England. A Copy of that report should be transmitted to the Committee in London.

The Oriental Translation Committee hope that the Corresponding Committee of Ceylon will not limit their views to Europeans but will also endeavour to excite qualified natives to furnish translations. They also hope that should any parts of this Letter or the Prospectus be considered ambiguous the Corresponding Committee will interpret them according to their own judgment without waiting for explanations from Europe.

We indulge the hope that under your auspices the Corresponding Committee will be able to obtain the assistance of the Native Headmen residing within your Government by pointing to them the advances that will accrue to their learned countrymen from being furnished with printed texts of scarce and valuable Pali, Singalese, and Tamul Manuscripts.

We shall also be obliged by your permitting the Letters of the Corresponding Committee to be delivered free of postage within your Government and for your allowing the communications from the Committee in London to be forwarded through the authorities in England.

We trust that we may in a few Months receive the gratifying intelligence of the formation of the Corresponding Committee and of Yourself and the Literary Society of Ceylon having displayed a degree of Interest commensurate with the importance of the object proposed to your notice and placed under your patronage.

We have the Honour to be, etc.

(signed) Gore Ouseley
Alex. Johnston.

(Signed) W. Huttman
Secretary.

Resolved, in pursuance of the invitation addressed by the Royal Asiatic Society to His Excellency Sir Edward Barnes and communicated by him this day, that the Society do enter into correspondence with that Institution, and that a Committee of Correspondence be forthwith constituted, to consist of

Major Colebrooke	H. Cameron
Revd. Benjamin Clough	Lt. Col. Walker
W. Granville, Esquire.	C. E. Layard, Esquire.
Capt. Gascoyne	

The Committee is empowered to correspond with Gentlemen at Outstations to request that they will give notice of any antiquities, Inscriptions, etc., in the various Districts, and procure Copies or drawings of them whenever it is possible, but whenever they have not the means the Society will undertake to hire Draftsmen and Copyists for this purpose where the object may appear to the Committee adequate to the expence.

The Secretary reports having received four numbers of the Translations of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the translation of the Travels of Ibn Batuta together with other miscellaneous papers.

Resolved that the Committee do in the first place prepare a letter of thanks to the Secretary of Correspondence of the Asiatic Society for these works, acquainting him with the measures that the Society have adopted for the furtherance of the objects of the Oriental Translation Committee.

Resolved that the Committee established for correspondence be empowered to transact the general business of the Society with the same functions vested originally in the Committee of fifteen Members at the formation of the Society.

Resolved that the Subscriptions for the present year be collected as soon as possible.

Resolved that the Committee be requested to examine into the state of the Society's funds, and to make such alterations in the present Establishment as may be deemed by them necessary.

Resolved that as no subscriptions have been collected for any year subsequent to 1826, the subscriptions for 1827, 1828, 1829 be remitted, and that the subscriptions for the present year considered as due from the 1st January last.

The Committee is empowered to frame a paper announcing to subscribers and others the renewal of the Meetings of the Society and the additional objects to which its attention has been directed and to request the zealous co-operation of the present Members in these objects, and to invite Gentlemen taking an interest in scientific and Literary enquiries who are not yet Members to become so.

Bennett's "Fishes."

The Secretary lays before the Meeting correspondence from J. W. Bennett, Esquire, and Mr. Ackermann, Printer, relative to the subscriptions forwarded to the latter on account of a work on the Fishes of Ceylon⁴⁰ by Mr. Bennett. The Subject is referred to a future Meeting.

Resolved that the Committee do meet on Monday next, the 17th May, at One o'clock.

Proceedings of a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held at the Admiralty Chambers on Thursday the 17th June, 1830.

His Excellency the Governor

Major Colebrooke

H. Cameron, Esquire.

W. Granville, Esquire

C. E. Layard, Esquire.

Revd. B. Clough

Captain Schneider

Lt. Col. Walker

Captain Gascoyne

Lt. Col. Fraser

The Secretary reads the report of the Committee and the proposed scale of Amended Subscriptions.

Resolved that in lieu of the original Rates of Subscriptions the following be adopted.

Major Colebrooke proposes the following Gentlemen as Members

P. Anstruther, Esquire.

C. Brownrigg, Esquire.

Wells, Esquire.

Mathison, Esquire.

Mr. Layard proposes C. Layard, Esqre.

Mr. Cameron proposes Hospl. Asst. Dr. Hunt

Mr. Clough proposes The Revd. Mr Gogerly as a Member of the Society.

⁴⁰ Bennett published two books on Ceylon Fishes,—“*A selection from the most remarkable and interesting fishes found in the coast of Ceylon.*” (1830) of which a second edition was issued in 1834; and “*A selection of rare and curious fishes found upon the coast of Ceylon,*” 1851 with preface dated 1841.

Resolved that at such General Meeting a Vice President and two Members be sufficient to form a quorum.

Resolved that the new Rates of Subscription be printed and Circulated.

Publications.

Resolved that the Committee be empowered to make a selection of such papers as are now in possession of the Society or may hereafter be presented in the most advantageous form, and that it be permitted to draw from the Fund such Sums as may be necessary for carrying on the publication.

The Committee beg to propose that the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Revd. Mr. Clough for the zealous and active assistance he has afforded in obtaining translations of papers and generally promoting the objects of the Society and it is Resolved unanimously that the thanks of the Meeting be given to Mr. Clough accordingly.

Resolved, that the Members of the Society of the Outstations be invited to form themselves into branch Societies, that the Committee do take into consideration the best plans of carrying this object into effect.

Resolved that as a prospective object the Society contemplate the distribution of Medals and other rewards for Agricultural and other objects which the Society is interested in promoting.

[END OF MSS. OF PROCEEDINGS].

IT is clear from the proceedings that the chief supporter of the Society was its originator, Sir Hardinge Giffard. Giffard left the Island, for England, on March 2nd 1827, and died a few months later, the notice of his death appearing in the Gazette of October 13th, 1827. Farrell had left the previous year. The Secretary remained, but his energies were apparently absorbed by the Colombo Library, and there was no one sufficiently interested in the Society to keep it alive. Yet the Museum of the Medical Officers seems to have been in a flourishing condition.

The revival of the Society in 1830 appears to have had some element of compulsion attending it. The avowed object was to establish communications with the Asiatic Society in England, but there was no particular hurry over the matter, for the Asiatic Society's letter (copy) is dated June, 1828. Nor does the local

Society appear to have been enthusiastic over the proposal, judging from its subsequent proceedings.

The Committee of Correspondence interpreted their commission in a manner which could scarcely have been in accord with the expectations of the Asiatic Society. They issued the following circular :—

“ Sir,

The Literary and Agricultural Society of Ceylon having resumed its Meetings, and appointed us Members of a Committee of Correspondence, with a view of opening a constant and easy channel of communication between the Society and Individuals interested in enquiries of a literary or scientific nature connected with the Island, we take the earliest opportunity of fulfilling the desire of the Society as expressed in the annexed Extract from the Resolutions passed at a General Meeting held on the 10th instant, to solicit your friendly and active co-operation towards effecting the objects of the Society's Research.

These objects are fully detailed in the documents we take the liberty to enclose, and indulging the expectation of a favourable Reply at your earliest convenience

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most Obedient Servants.”

On the fly leaf is printed the extract from the Resolutions referred to, as follows,—

“ The Committee is empowered to frame a paper, announcing to Subscribers and others, the renewal of the Meetings of the Society and the additional objects to which its attention has been directed, to request the zealous co-operation of the present Members in these objects, and to invite Gentlemen taking an interest in Scientific or Literary enquiries, who are not yet Members, to become so.”

The “ documents ” mentioned in the letter formed a small pamphlet entitled “ Prospective Views of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society, circulated in pursuance of the resolutions passed at two meetings held at Colombo on the 10th of May and the 17th of June, 1830.” The second part of the pamphlet is entitled “ Heads of Enquiry.” Copies of this pamphlet are now in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), and a brief summary of its contents is given below.

After this the Society appears to have gone to sleep again until 1832. In the Colombo Journal, Feb. 22, 1832, we find "our subscribers are perhaps already aware that the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society has changed its name to the Ceylon Improvement Society. We insert some resolutions passed at a meeting when this change was adopted, wishing the Institution all the success which it deserves.

"Extracts from Resolutions passed at a General Meeting held on the 7th January 1832.

"That the Society hitherto called the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society be for the future called the Ceylon Improvement Society.

"That the Society adopt verbatim the principles laid down in two papers which were published in a former pamphlet, entitled "Prospective Views," and "Heads of Enquiry."

"That the following be the terms of future admission, and of the annual subscription of Members of the Ceylon Improvement Society.

"Members resident in Ceylon,—a payment of one Guinea annual subscription.

"Members not resident in Ceylon,—a single payment of one Guinea : but upon becoming residents on the Island, to pay the annual subscription of one Guinea from the period of arrival.

"A resident member quitting Ceylon becomes a non-resident member without further payment until his return.

"All Members of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society present or absent to be members of this Society as reorganised.

"Any person contributing information, specimens of Natural History, etc., etc., which shall be deemed satisfactory by the Committee, be eligible to be admitted an honorary member, without subscription.

"The subscription for each year to become due from the first day of the year, commencing from the first of January, 1832, and to be paid to the Treasurer.

"Subscriptions of non-resident Members will be received by the undermentioned Agents of the Ceylon Government in London and at the Presidencies of India : Richard Penn Esq., Great George Street, Westminster ; Messrs. Colvin & Co., Calcutta ; Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co., Madras ; Messrs. Frith, Bomanjee & Co., Bombay.

"That all the communications to the Society be addressed to the Secretary and that communications from natives will be received in the native languages.

" That persons desirous of becoming members of the Ceylon Improvement Society be requested to notify their wishes to the Secretary.

" That the general principle of admission be by ballot.

" That a Committee be appointed to select such papers now in possession of the Society as they may deem eligible for publication, and that such publication take place at the earliest opportunity.

" That the same course be adopted with respect to all communications that may be hereafter received.

" It will be observed by those persons who read the preceding resolutions that the name of the Society has been changed for the sake of more pointedly marking the objects of the Society, and showing that it has not exclusive reference to Agriculture and Literature, but also to Commerce, Inventions, and Research of every description, that bears upon the practical improvement of the Colony.

" It will however be equally observed that the members of the Ceylon Improvement Society have adopted, as the basis of the principles upon which they are prepared to act, the two papers headed Prospective Views and Heads of Enquiry, and which are reprinted Verbatim in the present pamphlet.

" Their object is of the most simple nature : It is to be the medium of publishing annually such papers as appear to have the greatest tendency to throw light upon the past and present state of Ceylon, and to promote her improvement in the most extended sense of that term. They trust that by carrying this purpose into effect a mass of the most valuable information, practical as well as historical and scientific, will be collected of easy access, which by presenting to the world a just and fair statement of the agricultural and commercial capabilities of Ceylon, may invite the application of capital to her many resources and abundantly repay whatever trouble may be attached to the execution of the object which they have in view."

The following note was added by the editor of the Colombo Journal.

" A pamphlet has been published by the Society pointing out the objects which it recommends to the attention of its members. The Royal Asiatic Society, established at home under the auspices of the King, invites communications from Societies in India, " to lead to a more familiar and practical acquaintance with the countries under our dominion, the resources of which, available to British enterprise, are so extensive and diversified."

"The primitive institutions of Ceylon, more especially in the interior of the Island, having so long remained undisturbed, offer a wide field for the researches of those who wish to trace the condition of mankind in remote ages; whilst the long establishment of Europeans in the maritime provinces leads to a belief that the climate and fertility of the Island may afford opportunities for colonization, and will enable Ceylon to regain that population and consequent prosperity, which it is evident from the extensive works now in ruin she formerly possessed.

"The heads of inquiry which the Society recommends are, researches into the literature and antiquities of the Colony, a duty amply encouraged at home—the origin, progress, and condition of the various classes of inhabitants—their customs—peculiar productions and systems of agriculture—accounts of the growth and management of the many important plantations—the breeding of cattle, etc.—the arts and manufactures—mechanics—and natural history.

"Among the miscellaneous studies to which attention is invited, are the passages of Manaar and Pamben—the prevalent diseases of the country, and the treatment which native medical men apply to them—the heights of mountains—the supplies of water—the recurrence of the monsoon rains—and meteorological and thermometrical observations. It will therefore be seen that the objects of the new Society are sufficiently diversified to afford employment to members of all tastes and studies, and we sanguinely hope that information will be elicited of a nature to excite interest among the curious in oriental matters in England."

Sir Edward Barnes, who had made the attempt to resurrect the Ceylon Society in 1830, and to affiliate it with the Asiatic Society, relinquished the Governorship in 1831 (Oct. 31st). Was it merely an accident that the Society was revived under another name in 1832?

The following circular was sent out in 1832,-

Ceylon Improvement Society

Colombo

1832.

Sir,

I have received the directions of the Ceylon Improvement Society to transmit to you a copy of a small pamphlet containing an exposition of the principles upon which the Society is formed and of the objects which it proposes to execute.

You will receive in this Pamphlet an explanation of the change of Title which the Society has adopted ; in its general purposes it entirely adheres to the intentions of the Literary and Agricultural Society as expressed in two of their papers which are reprinted verbatim in the present pamphlet.

I am directed to express the hope of the Society that you may be induced to concur with them in promoting the purposes they have in view.

If it should be your pleasure to become a Member of the Society you will be good enough to send an answer before the 20th of March, after which period no Members will be admitted otherwise than by ballot.

I have the honour to be
Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

On April 17th. 1832, the Rev. J. Roberts, of Trincomalie, forwarded to the Society a paper on "The Native Doctor." This was published in the Colombo Journal of May 12, 1832. The original MSS. and the covering letter are now in the Peradeniya Library, *ex* W. Ferguson's papers.

The minutes of the new Society do not appear to have been preserved. But as Gascoyne, the Secretary of the Literary and Agricultural Society was also Secretary of the Improvement Society, it might be supposed that he would be equally diligent in keeping the records of the latter. We are left in doubt whether they were so kept, and whether they came into the hands of Ferguson and were lost with others of his papers.

The Society evidently was active during 1832. The Colombo Journal of Aug. 25, 1832, contains the following notice, which was repeated as an advertisement in the issue of Sept. 7th of the same year.

"The following subjects have been selected by His Excellency the Governor, as prize Essays to be adjudged by a Select Committee of the Ceylon Improvement Society.

"Each successful candidate will be entitled to £10. 10 in money or a gold medal at the option of the party.

"Each Essay must be sent in, in a sealed cover, on or before the 1st March 1833, directed to the Secretary of the Society, with a particular number marked upon the cover of the letter,

and at the same time another letter must be given in, containing that number and the name of the writer.

"No. 1 An Essay on the best principle of inducing the natives of Ceylon to offer their labour gratuitously for the construction and reparation of tanks and water courses, in consideration of the benefits which they would receive as Land holders from the results of irrigation.

"This Essay is exclusively for the natives, and may be sent in without translation if the party should so prefer.

"No. 2. An Essay on the best mode of directing the exertions of the descendants of Europeans, to agricultural and other pursuits, so as to hold out to them a certainty of an independent livelihood, as the result of well-directed labour. Also the best mode of furnishing a practical education to the parties, whose labour, if properly directed, may fairly be expected to secure their independence.

"No. 3. An Essay upon the Arts, Manufactures and trade of Ceylon, shewing their present and former state, with a view of ascertaining, whether by the introduction of proper machinery, artisans, or other means, great improvements may not be made, and employment given to all classes of persons, from the development of the resources of the Island involved in those improvements.

"No. 4. An Essay on the timber of the Island, and on the probability of a demand being made for such timber as an article of export, provided that sufficient means of conveyance are established between the best timber districts and the ports of exportation.

T. B. GASCOYNE,

Secretary.

In the *Colombo Journal*, Feb. 16, 1833, there appears a facetious letter asking what the Ceylon Improvement Society had done. From the letter, it would seem that it still met in the Admiralty Chambers.

The *Ceylon Almanac* for 1833 records "Ceylon Improvement Society. Patron and President, The Rt. Hon. the Governor. C. E. Layard, Treasurer. Capt. T. B. Gascoyne, Sec." The notice is repeated in 1834, without any Secretary. It is not in the *Almanac* for 1835.

The Ceylon Antiquary

and

Literary Register.

Published Quarterly.

Vol IX.

January, 1924.

Part III.

FOLK ETYMOLOGY.

Place-Names and Traditions in the Matale District.

BY THE LATE MR. J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (RETIRED.)

TWO books of villages in the Matale District, which were in the Kandy Kachcheri when I was Government Agent in 1906-10, and which I had sent to the Matale Kachcheri, contained, *inter alia*, explanations of the meanings of the names of villages as given, it is probable, by their inhabitants. The books bore no dates, but may have been of the "Fifties" or "Sixties." I made a note of some of the explanations, and they are given here.

It will be noticed that, of these etymologies and traditions, some thirty owe their origin to, or are connected with, Veddás, whose names are given. These names, now that there are no visible Veddás in the Matale District, are interesting.

Most of them are two-syllabled—Kilá, Kóná, Dombá, Dulá, Okká, with the feminine names Embi and Walli; some of three-syllables—Kivulá, Kotabá, Neluwá, Owilá, Udanga; others of four,—Ambapáni, Kananiá; two others of five,—Pitawalayá and Uduwelayá; one six-syllabled and almost Homeric—Huwankuwárayá: all are euphonious but unfamiliar to us in Ceylon now. The remaining four,—Hérat, Etagoda, Maha Kawudá and Saka Devi Mudiyanse,—might pass for names of Sinhalese.

One village, Ópalgala, is said to have been the headquarters of a Veddá king who married a daughter of King Vira Parákrama Báhu, and the aforesaid Hérat Bandára, a son of his, or perhaps of a previous king, took up his residence at Udugama, "the first of the Gampaha," as well as at Mádawala, villages of the Kohonsiya Pattuwa of Matale South.

The Veddás, no doubt, were of high caste, as the people known by that name in the Vanni of the Northern and North-Central Provinces claim to be. But people of still higher caste, the Brahmins, are credited with founding three villages in Matale North: Madipola, Kendangomuwa and Wegodapola, and one, Hulangomuwa, in Matale South.

Several villages have traditions connecting them with settlers from India, princes and *bandáras*. Such are Pallegama, Akuranboda and Kohona. Some, such as Aluvihára, Bogambara, Purijjala and Kinigama, have been favoured or cursed with supernatural visitants—gods, demons and *nágas*,—whilst others, such as Rattota and Galaliyadda, were selected by superhuman personages or supermen—*rahats* and giants—as the scene of their mundane exploits.

Many relate to former kings of Ceylon and their followers,¹ both early and comparatively recent. The former begin with Vijaya, (for was not Laggala "the country of Kuveni," his "demon queen?") and Upatissa, his prime Minister. The founding of Dambulla Vihárá by Valagam Báhu is made responsible for the dedication, if not for the names, of nine villages in its neighbourhood. Among the latter kings² the most often mentioned is Vijayapála, or, as he is locally known, "King Godapola," as he had his palace at the place of that name in the Kohonsiya Pattuwa. Some eighteen or twenty villages, chiefly in that part of the district, inherit traditions which go back to him and his reign.

Many villages—more in fact than the folk-etymologists will allow—take their names from trees and plants. In other names, words survive as affixes, which are now obsolete or of which our modern dictionaries are not cognisant. Such are *devala*, a valley, *patahá*, a pond.

1. I have left these Kings to the more competent hands of my co-editor, Mr. Senaveratna.

2. The two Rája Sinhas are often mentioned, but, except in one case, there is nothing to show whether the first or the second king of that name is meant. I imagine that, in most of the others, it is Rája Sinha I that is the subject of the tradition. Altogether about twenty kings and five queens are represented.

But it is in the stories they invent to fit the names of some villages, that the folk-etymologists exercise their imaginations to the full. Conspicuous among these are Hapuwida, Aluviharé, Galagama, Divilla, Maningomuva, Vahakotte, and Sigiriya. Only one name—Pubbiliya—proved too much for them.

I am far from saying that all these derivations and traditions are worthless. I think, for instance, that genuine names of Veddás, which would otherwise have been forgotten, have been preserved in the explanations given of the names of certain villages, and these explanations have been handed down by tradition.

1. MATALE EAST—PALLESIIYA PATTUWA.

1. **Akarakaduwa.** Founded by Angammuna Mahá Nilame, who constructed the *amuna* and formed the fields and village, and presented the village to the king, Kirti Sri, who called it after the initial letter of the Nilame's name.
2. **Alakolamadu.**—"the marsh of *alakola* leaves"—*Alakola* is not given by Clough.
3. **Andawala**—was formerly called Siyambalángamuwa. In the reign of Kirti Sri some villagers caught an eel and presented it alive to the king.
4. **Bodikotuwa**—"Bodi's enclosure,"—Bodi being the name of a woman.
5. **Bogambara.** A Hindu god from Bogambara in Meddadesa in India landed in Ceylon, and his spirit entered into a man called Hindagala Bandára. King Rája Sinha, finding that the man was possessed, created a tiled *kovila* in this place, surmounted by a golden pinnacle, to propitiate the god. (This traditon is mentioned in Lawrie's *Gazetteer of the Central Province*.)
6. **Dankanda.** Remnants of offerings to the priests made into a heap.
7. **Dikkumbura**—"the long field." A man called Hittihámi asweddumized a field longer than the others.
8. **Galekoluwa.** In the reign of Vijayapála there was a *jak* tree here called "*Koluwe Kosgaha*"; under the tree a cattle-shed was put up, and a village formed in the neighbourhood. Hence it was called "*Gálékoluwa*" after the cattle-shed and the tree.
9. **Hekarilla.** So called from the plant of that name (a kind of night-shade)

10. **Hunuketa-ela.** This means "lime stone stream."
11. **Imbulgolla.** A man cleared a forest of *imbul* trees here in the time of King Godapola, and founded a village.
12. **Kaikawala.** There were people here in ancient times to guard the limits.
13. **Kosgolla**—"the Forest of Jak Trees."
14. **Kumbuloluwa.** King Rája Sinha, on his way to Topáwewa, saw a human skull on the road, and, on questioning his followers, was told that it was the skull of a man of the potter caste. Hence he ordered the place to be called by this name, viz. "The Potter's Head."
15. **Kumburegammedda** ("house in the field"). A swamp converted into a field, in the time of King Rájádhi.
16. **Kuruwawa.** Is called after a *viháre*.
17. **Linipitiya.** Founded by a man from Liniwehera.
18. **Madakumbara**—"the muddy field."
19. **Maussigolla**—"the clump of *maha-ussi* plants," (not given by Clough).
20. **Moragolla**—i.e., "the clump of *mora* trees."
21. **Naguliyedda.** In ancient times fields were asweddumized at the top of the hill, and they were shaped like ploughs.
22. **Nikawela.** From *nika*, a tree, and *wela*, field.
23. **Opalgala**—"the gleaming or shining rock," *opa gala*. There was a Veddá king here and the Veddás used the rock as a whetstone for sharpening their arrows. Hence the name. (The fortuitous resemblance to the English word *opal*, also applied to a shining surface, is curious. See under **Galagama**, **Udugama** and **Madawala** in Section VI).
24. **Pallegama.** Certain Brahmins came over from Bogambara in Meddadesa in India with the regalia of the gods, and built a *dévála* here. The villages were called Bogambara. Subsequently the four *Rálahámis* of Delvala and twenty *Patabendas* divided the village, and called the upper half *Udagama*, and the lower half *Pallégama*.
25. **Rattota.** *Rahat-tota*, the bathing place of the Rahats. Rahat priests used to be here at Dahaniyagodakanda.
26. **Rayatilawa.** *Rája-taláwa*, as a king lived here.
27. **Wadakahamada.**—"the marsh of *Wadaka* plants,"—converted into a paddy field. (*Wadaka* or *wadakasá*, a kind of flag, *acorus calamus*," Clough).

28. **Welangahawatta.** From a large *welan* tree which stood here.
(*Welan* is not given by Clough.)
- 29a. **Weragama.** So called because it was asweddumized by a Veddá of *Wéragama* in Bintenna. He had shot an elk which went as far as the marsh called *Iriyagolla*, where it fell and he secured it. He then saw that the marsh was capable of being asweddumized and informed the King of *Sitávaka*, who told him to asweddumize it.
- 29b. **Weralugastenna.** From the *weralu* tree. *Tenna*=plain.
(*Weralu*=the wild olive.)

II.—MATALE EAST—LAGGALA UDASIYA PATTUWA.

30. **Amunehena.**—"The *chena* with the *amuna* running through it."
31. **Batadanduwela.** From *batadandu*="reeds."
32. **Etanwala.** From a Veddá of the name of *Etagoda* who lived here. (See under *Imaduwa*, Section III.)
33. **Galapalla** i.e. "Below the rock."
34. **Ilukkumbura.** From the *iluk* grass.
35. **Kahagala.** From the *kaha* (saffron or turmeric) plants that grew here.
36. **Karakolagastenna.** From the *karakola* plant.
37. **Kukulamalpota**=*Kukulá-mala-ulpota*, "the dead cock spring" because a dead cock was found in one of the springs.
(Clough gives *Ulpata*, but not *Ulpota*, for a spring of water.)
38. **Mahahalakotuwa**—"the great yam enclosure."
39. **Medaela**—"The middle *Ela*."
40. **Pitawala.** So called from a Veddá of the name of *Pitawalayá* who lived here. ('*Waliya*' is a common termination of the name of a *Rodiyá* caste man.)
41. **Polonmane** (*Polin-mánáwa*.)—A *polonga* was found here in the *mána* grass.
42. **Pubbaruwela.** A large number of the people who asweddumised this field were fed with boiled rice. Hence *Bat-kumbura* (boiled rice field), now *Pubbaruwela*. (Obviously fanciful and absurd.)
43. **Rambukoluwa.** From the *rambuk* tree.
44. **Ratninda.** Called after *Ranhoti Mudiyánsé* who used to live here.

45. **Telgamuwa.** So called because it is close to the Telgal-ganga.
46. **Walpolamulla.** Kónára Mudiyánsé's cattle used to graze here in ancient days.

III. MATALE EAST—LAGGALA PALLESIIYA PATTUWA.

47. **Amunewala**—"Place of the village near the *amuna*."
48. **Batalawatta.** From *batala*=sweet potato.
49. **Dagewilla**=Forest chena cleared (burnt.)
50. **Galgedewala.** From *galgé*=cave, *dewala*=valley.
51. **Gonawala**—"sambur pit," where a sambur fell into a hole.
52. **Halmuniya**=*Ran miniya*, as a golden bell was buried here. (Absurd.)
53. **Hanwella.** "The sandy place where skins were thrown." The Veddás used to throw the skins of animals here. (Very doubtful.)
54. **Himbiliyakada.** *Himbiliya*=tamarind; *kada*=*kadawata*. (*Himbiliya* is not in Clough, but may be a form of *siyambala*.)
55. **Huruwela.** From *Guruwó* who founded it. (Very doubtful.)
56. **Imaduwa**=*Niwáduwa*, the place where Kónára Unnehé ceased his pursuit of Etagoda Veddá and other Veddás from Etanwala (See under **Etanwala**, Section II. Derivation absurd.)
57. **Kaduwela.** In the time of King Ástána (Rájádhi) a village was founded here, where a sword had been hidden.
58. **Karagama.** A woman was carried here from Poddalgoda in Uda Dumbara on the shoulders of another, and halted here. *Kara*=shoulder. (Fanciful.)
59. **Karuwalagahadewala.** From *karuwalagaha*=ebony tree, and *dewala*=a valley.
60. **Kilanwala.** Called after a Veddá named Kilá who founded the village.
61. **Kinigama**=*Kiligama*, "the polluted village," because Kuweni and other Yakku died here in the time of King Vijaya.
62. **Kirindiketiya.** From the *kirindi* creeper.
63. **Kiwulewadiya.** From *kiwulé*=brackish water, and *wádiya*=habitation.
64. **Leloya**—"Stream of the *lellu* fish."
65. **Mabola.** From Mahabala Terunnánsé who resided here. (Very doubtful.)

66. **Madumanawela.** *Mađu*, the tree of that name ; *mána*=patana ;
ela=stream.
67. **Maraka.** Called after Mahara Mudiyanse, its founder.
68. **Moragahulpota.** *Mora*, the tree of that name ; *ulpota*=a
spring.
69. **Narangomuwa.** From the *náran* (mandarin orange) tree
which stood here.
70. **Oggomuwa.** Called after a Veddá named Okká, who settled
here.
71. **Pahalawadiya**="the lower lodging place."
72. **Pallegama.** "The lower village," formed before the other
villages, in the time of Bambatissa.
73. **Pinnawel'a.** An *édanda* was erected across an *oya*, and people
were prohibited from fishing in the pool under it.
74. **Ranamure.** There was gold here watched by guards.
75. **Siyambalahawella.** From *siyambalá-gaha*, the tamarind,
and *we'la*, a sandy place.
76. **Ta'akolawela.** *Taláwela* is the name of a plant. (Not in
Clough.)
77. **Uduwelwala.** Called after a Veddá named Uduwelayá,
who settled here.
78. **Welewita**="Sandy *owita*." (Note. There is a stone *mutu*
poruwa or chess-board here, also some stone pillars.)
79. **Wilgomuwa.** *Wila*=a pool in fields.

IV. MATALE EAST—GANGALA UDASIYA PATTUWA.

80. **Ataragallewa.** So called because it is situated between the
Ambanganga and the Kaluganga.
81. **Dammantenna.** A priest delayed taking his meal and left it
here. Hence *dam-man-tenna*, "the place where meals were
left."
82. **Galboda**="Side of the rock."
83. **Kalugaha.** A *kalu* tree fell here.
84. **Kambarawa.** King Kelani Tissa's elephant broke its tusks
and ran into the forest ; the rope with which it was tied
was found here. Hence *kamba-ráwa*.
85. **Kandepitawala.** Near the hill called Veddánkanda.
86. **Koduruwawa.** A Veddá named Kóná lived in the hollow of a
kon tree which afterwards fell down.
87. **Medaulpota**="Middle spring," between the hills Sudukanda
and Puswellakanda.

88. **Metihakka**—"The clay jaw," from a kind of clay eaten by elks.
89. **Muruwataulpota**. Veddás lived here who extracted oil from *mi* seed, and threw the refuse away near the spring. *Muruwata*=refuse of grain.
90. **Navanneliya**. From one *neliya* of paddy sown, nine were reaped.
91. **Pottotawela**. From *potu*=bark. A Veddá named Huwanku-warayá built a house here, and thatched it with bark.
92. **Puwakpitiya**. From *puwak*, areka. This village was settled by Vellálas who obtained *paṭabendi* and *paṭatakadu* names from the king.
93. **Weliwaranagolla**. From the *weliwaraná* tree, and *golla*, grove.

V. MATALE EAST—GANGALA PALLESIIYA PATTUWA.

94. **Ambagahadewala**—"Mango tree valley."
95. **Dambagolla**. From the *damba* tree.
96. **Dammantenna**=*Damane-tenna*, name of a plain.
97. **Elagomuwa**—"Village near the *ela*."
98. **Elahera**. In the time of King Mahalu Parákrama Báhu the waters of the Ambanganga were turned by forming a dam across it, and cutting a canal to Minneri. *Ela-hera*="canal turned."
99. **Galwetikinda**. The stonework of the Elahera *amuna* sank here.
100. **Helambagahawatta**. From the *helamba* tree.
101. **Maragamuwa**. From the *mára* tree.
102. **Medapihilla**—"Middle spout." There was a watercourse between two fields with a *pihilla* or suspended spout.
103. **Pubbiliya**. An old name, meaning unknown.
104. **Radawela**—"Washers' field." It was abandoned by the washers but occupied by Vellálas in the time of King Rájádhi.
105. **Talagoda**. King Mahasen saw a cow at Minneri which was quite healthy, while all the other cattle were dying from want of water. In order to find where it obtained water, he sent it away with a bag of gingelly seed tied to it, which had a hole in one corner, so that a track of gingelly seeds was left by it. It went along a channel which led to the Ambanganga, where the rest of the seed dropped. *Talágoda*=a heap of gingelly seeds. (Given also by Lawrie, *loc. cit.*)
106. **Talangamuwa**—"The village in the plain."

(To be Continued)

GOVERNOR NORTH AND THE FIRST ENGLISH SCHOOL IN CEYLON.

By D. P. E. HETTIARATCHI.

MR. L. J. Gratiaen's article in the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol. VII. Part III) has at last thrown light on the establishment and growth of the "Seminary" at Wolfendhal, founded by the Hon. Frederic North (afterwards Earl of Guildford), the first Governor of Ceylon.

Though Sir Emerson Tennent has made the remark in connection with the policy of North's government as regards the Kandians and the wars with them—a policy which proceeded from an earnest desire to adhere to the line of Indian policy which was adopted at this period—that it was "inconsistent with the dignity and honour of his high office,"¹ yet his highest claims to our respect are the redeeming qualities of his administration in the Maritime settlements of Ceylon.

Possessed of rare merits and tried virtues, North, like a true British statesman, adopted measures to conciliate the people—especially the maritime Sinhalese in whom he undoubtedly recognized an ancient nation which, in the words of a historian, had "existed as a numerous and comparatively civilized nation at a period antecedent to the discovery of Great Britain."² Indeed "his mild and conciliatory policy," to quote Lord Valentia, "was essentially beneficial in reconciling the minds of the natives to the British Government, after the monstrous conduct of those who governed the island, when it was under the control of the Presidency of Madras."³

The modes in which North extended the benefits of English Government to His Majesty's subjects appear as if he appreciated the maxim of the Oriental sage who said,—

"Our lives were the means of promoting the four objects of human existence—pleasure, wealth, well-being and religion,"⁴

1. See Vol. II p. 76.

2. Forbes' *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, Vol. 1. p. 2.

3. Mavor's *Travels* Vol. XXVIII. p. 131.

4. *Hilopadesa*, Cap. I. s. 44.

for all his acts which have been recent'y reviewed by Mr. L. J. B. Turner, C.C.S., in the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vide Vols. IV—VI) were especially directed to "the promotion of religion, education, and commerce; the establishment of Courts of Justice; the reform of the revenue; and the advancement of native agriculture and industry."⁵

We obtain corroborative evidence of North's wise arrangements for the best of the country and its inhabitants from the sentiments of general regret stated in a public address which accompanied a piece of plate of the value of one thousand guineas on the eve of his departure from Ceylon in 1805. We shall here extract a few passages from it.

"To your Excellency (said the subscribers to that address), is eminently owing the prosperity and security these territories enjoy. Amidst every impediment resulting from a war in the interior, and under the pressure of severe physical calamities, Your Excellency will have the satisfaction of leaving the country you have governed, in a state of the highest improvement;—its revenues flourishing beyond our utmost expectation; the enemy humbled and reduced; and the confidence of the native subjects of His Majesty in the power and resources of the government increased and confirmed.

"The augmentation of the public revenue, so important in itself, becomes still more valuable when we revert to the causes—to the confidence which the natives have derived from the uniform integrity of your public acts, and from the constant and successful attempt you have paid, to open to them the paths of justice, and to provide for its speedy and pure administration.

"The natives under your government will long remember Your Excellency with reverence and gratitude, as the founder of Seminaries for their improvement in religion and knowledge, and of various institutions of charity for the relief of their sick and poor; and, most particularly, for the incalculable blessings you have brought upon the Island by the successful introduction and rapid extension of vaccination.

"These are some of the prominent features of Your Excellency's public conduct; but when combined with these we reflect on your private virtues, and on those talents and acquirements which add a lustre to your social qualities, we have no other consolation for your departure but in turning aside from our privation to your prospects."⁶

From the above it will appear that not the least among North's public acts was the attention he paid to the all important subject of education, which, in bringing Western science to bear on the

5. Tennent, Vol. II. p. 86.

6. *Government Gazette Extraordinary* of 18th July, 1805.

Eastern mind, has conferred on the community the benefit of qualifying the intelligent and quick-witted sons of the soil for the various walks of life open to them.

It has been said that it is at all events the interest of a Government to educate those whom it governs.⁷ Perhaps it was in accordance with such a belief that North perceived the urgent necessity which existed for the re-establishment of Schools which had been abandoned by the Madras officials. So comprehensive was his scheme that he raised the number of 'parochial schools', as Lord Valentia calls them, to 170 in various parts of the Island at a cost of about £1,800. In addition to these schools, which were intended for the inhabitants of villages, he founded, as already stated, a "Seminary" at Colombo, into which he introduced, amongst others, youths from the highest native society, whose ambition was to acquire a respectable acquaintance with the language of the dominant race.

It may here be mentioned that, in the aptitude for acquiring knowledge, the youths of this institution were so zealous that Rev. James Cordiner adds: "The state of improvement at which some of the Sinhalese youth have arrived affords an interesting specimen of the great advantage which would result to Ceylon from a proper attention to the education of the rising generation."⁸ If such proficiency did not fail to be beneficial to the students themselves, the British interests in the Island also experienced essential benefits from the labours of this Seminary, which "for a long time not only supplied the place of a translator's office, but likewise furnished confidential interpreters to the various departments of Government."⁹

Mr. Gratiaen, in the article referred to, shows the progress which the youths made in the Seminary was so rapid that, in less than three years, some of them were found eligible in respect of a competent knowledge of the English language to enter the public service. It is worth while recording here, in support of the foregoing, the names of five Seminary students, of whom four were Sinhalese and the other a Tamil, who received from Governor North the appointments mentioned in the following official notification which we have been able to trace:—

7. Sessional Paper VIII for 1867, p. 6.

8. Ceylon Vol. I. p. 162.

9. *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 162.

"Yesterday His Excellency was pleased to invest with swords of honour, as a mark of distinction, Cornelis de Saram Wijesekera Gunatilakaratna, Mohotti Mohandiram of the Governor's Gate and chief Interpreter of the Provincial Court; Johannes Paulus Perera Wijesekera Gunawardana, Mohandiram of the Atapattu, and Interpreter of the Agent of Revenue and Commerce; Don Jacobus Dias Wijewardana Bandaranayaka, Mohandiram and Second Interpreter of the Provincial Court; Don Abraham Dias Wijesekera Bandaranayaka, Mohandiram and Interpreter to the Supreme Court,—being, the four senior Sinhalese boys in the school at Wolfendhal; and Gabriel Casie Cheity, one of the Malabar Translators to Government, being the first Malabar boy, at the same school,—all of whom had been reported to His Excellency as having made sufficient progress in English to act as Interpreters. The best effects may be expected to arise from the pains that are bestowed, in bringing up the rising generation of the native nobility in a familiar acquaintance with English Language."¹⁰

Passing reference has also been made by Mr. Gratiaen to Andrew Armour—Soldier, Schoolmaster and Missionary—whose memory is perpetuated to this day by the name of the street in Colombo which bears his name. Armour arrived in Ceylon in 1800 and was appointed head of the High School of the Seminary in the beginning of 1801. He was a versatile and accomplished man acquainted with, it is said, 13 different languages¹¹ including the Dutch, French, Portuguese, Tamil and Sinhalese. Armour filled his situation with "credit to himself and satisfaction to his employers, aiming not only at the mental improvement, but at the eternal welfare of his pupils."¹² Under his zealous exertions the ambitions of the pupils were speedily crowned with success, for Cordiner records that many of his pupils soon learnt to "converse fluently in English, and write, in a good style, very accurate translations from the Sinhalese."¹³

In this connection it would be interesting to show the proficiency to which the students of the first English school in Ceylon had attained within comparatively a brief period—a proficiency which appears to be very great as compared with that which is acquired nowadays during a like period. Attention might, therefore, well be directed to a letter which was written by one of the old pupils of the Seminary, viz. Don Abraham D'Saram. As a preliminary a brief sketch of this gentleman's career may not be out of place here.

10. *Govt. Gazette*, 16th June, 1802.

11. Spence Hardy's *Jubilee Memorials*, p. 67.

12. W. M. Harvard's *Narrative of a Mission*, p. 158.

13. *Ceylon Vol. 1.* p. 161, For a sketch of Armour's life, see Lewis, *Tombstones*, p. 97

D'Saram was a distinguished native chief of the early British times, respected and esteemed by all classes. The esteem in which he was held by the people may be judged from a picture of his preserved at one time on the walls of the ancient Dewála at Attanagalla.¹⁴ He was also a first-rate Sinhalese scholar who, in the words of James Alwis, "exerted himself much for the amelioration of his country and his country's literature."¹⁵ When Governor North remodelled the establishment of native chiefs, D'Saram was selected as his own special Interpreter, but, in recognition of D'Saram's services during the Kandyan wars, Governor North conferred on him the post of 2nd Maha Modliar after the demise of Louis D'Saram in 1815.¹⁶ After the introduction of changes in the administration of Government in 1833, D'Saram was appointed to the District Judgeship of Panadura, but, before assuming the duties of his new office, he died in 1834.¹⁷ The letter in question was addressed by D'Saram from Kandy to the Rev. W. M. Harvard, one of the pioneer missionaries of the Wesleyan Mission who arrived in Ceylon, and is dated 20th March, 1818. It runs as follows:—

"My dear Sir,

I have received your very kind letter of the 25th ultimo. I am sorry I did not acknowledge it sooner, and am more so to hear that you had so much affliction lately in your family.

"The present circumstances at this place, I fear, will detain us long in Kandy; and the anxiety I have to return to my family, though great, does not make me at all uneasy, when I reflect that I am serving a person to whom I am much indebted.

"I had great pleasure in reading that your school at Panadura is so much to your satisfaction; and anything that lies in my power, so feeble as it is, I am ready to do at all times for the good of our countrymen, and the success of your beneficent endeavours. For, I know you are not like a gardener who strives to bring all the trees of the garden to one height and bulk; to do which one cannot without cutting and reducing large trees to level with small ones, and consequently injure those which are larger and valuable.

"I am very much obliged to you for the account you gave me of young Ilangakkoon.¹⁸ I have no doubt that you and Mr. Clough will do anything for him, to deserve the grateful thanks

14. Alwis' *Attanagaluwanca*, p. 97.

15. Alwis' *Sidathangaranea*, p. CXXLVII.

16. *Govt. Gazette*, 12th July, 1815.

17. *Govt. Gazette*, 12th July, 1834.

18. Son of Maha Modliar Don David Ilangakkoon.

of myself and his father, who, I am confident, will not forget the least attention shown to his family; and returning my best thanks for your kind wishes, I remain, Dear Sir, Your sincere friend and servant, A. D. Saram."¹⁹

In concluding these remarks which are prompted by the extremely interesting contribution of Mr. Gratiaen's (on the first English School which may be said to have opened the door of Western education and science to the Ceylonese by the acquisition of a language "through whose medium they are governed, and through which all adjudications in respect of their property, lives, and liberties, are made,") it might be mentioned that the encouragements held out for the study of English had also the tendency to induce the Sinhalese to 'make the English language the subject of their sedulous study' to the lamentable exclusion of their own.

"A knowledge of the English," says James Alwis, than whom there were few more competent to form a correct judgment on the subject, "conferred on the native privileges above his unlettered fellow countrymen. This then was the great wealth which he sought to acquire, whilst his own language was neglected, being regarded by him merely as a necessary evil for the purpose of maintaining intercourse with his countrymen. Thus estranged as it were from his own by the cultivation of a foreign language, each generation, following the habits and feelings of that which preceded it, grew more and more neglectful; these habits and feelings in respect of their own language acquiring greater strength in their course, from the increased facilities afforded to them by the Government in the study of English."

It was in reference to the neglect of Sinhalese learning and literature that the erudite Pali scholar, the Hon'ble George Turnour, C.C.S., (whose name is associated in our mind with feelings of respect), writing in 1837 or thereabouts, says of the Sinhalese that "their education, as regards the acquisition of their native language, was formerly seldom persevered in beyond the attainment of a grammatical knowledge of the Sinhalese:—the ancient history of their country, and the mysteries of the religion of their ancestors, rarely engaged their serious attention. Their principal study was the English language, pursued in order that they might qualify themselves for those official appointments, which were the object of their ambition."²¹

Thus, in the enthusiasm manifested by the Sinhalese in the study of the English language and literature under the mild and benignant sway of England, they neglected the study of their own, and that neglect has, for over a century, led to a considerable decay of the Sinhalese language.

19. *Harvard's Narrative*, p. 323.

20. *Sidathehangarawa*, Introduction, p. CXXLVIII.

21. *Mahawamsa*, Introduction, p. V.

HOATSON'S SINHALESE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE AND MATERIA MEDICA.

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY T. PETCH.

(Continued from Vol. IX. Pt. II, Page 13.)

Medicines fit for pregnant women.

WOMEN in a state of pregnancy are often during gestation affected with fever and pains in different parts of the body ; the following Tel or oil is recommended by the Wedarales in such cases.

Singalese Names	Lin. Genus and species.
Take of	
Wael-kassambilia-mool	.. —
Diamitta	.. —
Sid-inghuru	.. <i>Zingiber siccatum</i>
Kalanduru-alla	.. <i>Andropogon schoenanthus</i>

of each 1½ kalanda

Pound these in a rice pounder and put into a chatty with two tea-cupfuls of water, then

Take of	
Tipili	.. <i>Piper longum</i>....5 madara.
Rathnitol mool	.. <i>Plumbago rosea</i> ..3 madara
Wada-kaha	.. — 5 madara;
Kelinda-etta	.. — 5 madara
Debera-etta	.. — 3 madara
Aralu	.. <i>Terminalia chebulic</i>
Kalanduru-alla	.. <i>Andropogon schoenanthus</i>
Sid-inghuru	.. <i>Zingiber siccatum</i>
Ingsal	.. <i>Cardamum minus</i>
Attitudeyan-alla	.. — ..of each 5
	madara
Sevie-mool	.. — a handful.
Welmi	.. <i>Glycirriza glabra</i>
Miris	.. <i>Piper cubeob</i>

Assamodagan	..	<i>Apium petroselinum</i>
Seriteko	..	—
Murua-mool	..	—
Totila-potu	..	<i>Bignonia indica</i>
Kalu-duru	..	—
Aba-etta	..	<i>Sinapis nigra</i>
Perung-kaium	..	—
Khata-karosan	..	—
Walanga-sal	..	—of each 5 madara

Grind on a curry stone and mix with the other ingredients in the chatty. Then add Tala-tel, 1 tea-cupful, and boil the whole till nearly evaporated to dryness. Scrape the residuum from the bottom of the chatty; if properly boiled, it will adhere to the fingers like half-melted rosin; it is then to be kept in a bottle for use. The medicine when prepared is called Elatte-tayile.

1 Kalanda, a dose as a febrifuge.

Salt, lime juice, fish and beef* are prohibited. A rice diet is only allowed.

In case of haemorrhagy from the vagina and threatening miscarriage,

Take of,

Be'i-mool	..	<i>Crataeva marmelos</i>
Kalanduru-alla	..	<i>Andropogon schoenanthus</i>
Iruveria-mool	..	—
Attika-potu	..	—
Pol-mal	..	<i>Cocos nucifera</i> , a handful of each
Wateru	..	River water, . . 8 measures

Bruise and boil to one measure.

One-third of this to be given every morning.

In cases of exhaustion, wherein the woman is unable to bring forth the child,

Take of

Ella-wara-mool	..	<i>Asclepias floribus albis</i>
Potu-mool	..	—

Grind on a curry stone. A quantity of this to be rubbed into the region of the stomach, soles of the feet, and palms of the hands.

*Note—by beef is here understood deer flesh, for the Singalese in the interior of the Island, the very lowest caste excepted, do not eat the flesh of the bullock or cow or what we understand by beef. The Singalese call the flesh of the deer, deer-beef.

In cases wherein the birth of the placenta is protracted,
Take of

Wara-kolla	..	<i>Asclepias gygantica</i>
Gam-miris-kolla	..	<i>Piper nigrum</i>
Yakinaran-kolla	..	—
Pamburu-kolla		—1 handful of each

Sprinkle a little salt and powdered saffron on these; then pound in a rice pounder and roast in a chatty.

To be applied warm to the abdomen and retained there by a broad belt.

If the above does not expedite the birth of the placenta,
Take of

Induru-alla	..	—a quantity
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Grind on a curry stone and apply to the palms of the hands and soles of the feet.

Another remedy for exhaustion

Take of

Karal-saebo-mool	..	—any quantity
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Grind on a curry stone with a little water, then mix it with honey. Rub it on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet.

Or.

Take of

Ibicabal	..	Land tortoise shell..a little
Niagalla-alla	..	<i>Gloriosa superba</i> ..a little
Mini-iska-bal	..	Human skull ..a little

Grind on a curry stone. The expressed juice to be rubbed on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet.

Or

Take of

Riditutang	..	
Palmanikum	..	<i>Sulphas cupri</i>
Haepedi	..	—
Mini-iska-bal	..	Human skull ....of each a little.

Grind on a curry stone with lime juice and rub it on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet, as also around the navel.

Another formula for cases of difficult labour.

Take of

Rambuc-bada-isma	..	—
Karal-saebo-bada-isma	..	—

Tal-wakaru	.. Arrack —
Tal-mool-isma	.. Palmyra palm root.. of each equal quantity

Mix the expressed juice with the arrack. Take two of the pills prescribed page 112 for inflamed eyes with fever, and break them into this mixture and give to the patient to swallow.

If the child is not born in three hours,- and when it is found to be dead,

Take of

Kaudu-bogaha-potu-isma	.. <i>Ficus religiosa</i>
Hapa-potu-isma	.. —a little of each
Ingeni-etta	.. —1 kalanda

Grind and mix with the expressed juice, take 4 pills as described page 112 and break them into this mixture, and give as dose internally.

Then

Take of

Dehi-embul	.. Lime juice.. a little
Niagalla-alla	.. <i>Gloriosa superba</i> .. one root.

Rub on a stone with the lime juice, and immediately after taking the above medicine apply to the palms of the hands and soles of the feet, and,

Take of

Niagalla-mal	.. <i>Gloriosa superba</i>
Inghuru-isma	.. <i>Zingiberis rad.</i>

Grind the flowers with the expressed ginger juice and rub this into the crown of the head.

The Wedarales direct this last medicine to be rubbed on a betel-leaf and to be held before the patient who is to be made to fix her eyes on it steadfastly.

Arrack, when it can be got, is always given to the woman immediately after the child is born.

Sinhalese females are frequently rejected by their husbands when they begin to bear children. It often occurs that the Wedarales are applied to by females for medicine to cause abortion ; for this purpose,

Take of

Elanga-tel	.. Cow's ghee, .. one cupful
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wash very clean in cold water, then

Take of,

Suanda-hotta	..	—one handful
Kapuru	..	—half a handful

Grind on a curry stone and mix with the Elinga-tel. The whole body to be rubbed with this.

To relieve the woman from the effect of the abortion and medicine,

Take of

Beli-mool	..	<i>Crataeva marmelos</i> ..3 kalandas
Wateru	..	River water 4 measures

Bruise and boil to one measure.

One-third of this to be given every morning.

Another.

Take of

Beli-mool	..	<i>Crataeva marmelos</i> , a handful
Kalanduru-alla	..	<i>Andropogon schoenanthus</i>
Iruveria-mool	..	—
Khota-dimbula-potu	..	—
Lapol-mal	..	<i>Artocarpus integrifolia</i>

of each a little

Wateru	..	River water, 8 measures
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Bruise and boil to one measure.

1/3 to be given every morning till the woman is recovered.

The following is an account of the disease called by the Sinhalese Paranghy-ledha, as given by the Wedarales of Wellassy, and the remedies which they make use of for the cure of the different forms of the complaint.

1st. Alu parangy. Beginning or making its appearance with extreme itchiness, and watery papulae in blotches on the face and hands, which, by scratching, form sores disposed to be scaly; on rubbing the part scales fly off like ashes, hence the name Alu.

2nd. Dada parangy. Making its appearance with itchiness; when scratched a sore is formed, which is shortly covered with an elevated crust, under which there is a cavity filled with pus-like matter. Numerous in different parts of the body. Small worms are sometimes formed in the sores and (are said—Ed) to be a cause of their increase.

3rd. Ghaetha Parangy. Pains in all the joints followed by large boils which eventually burst and large sores are formed.

4th. Kusta Parangy. Extreme itchiness, elevated papulae, with an ulcer in some parts of the body.

5th. Goney Parangy. Pains in a'l the joints, skin rough and as if thickened resembling an elephant's hide, itchiness, large ulcer in some parts of the body.

6th. Odda Parangy. Secondary venereal.

7th. Mal Parangy

or

Aramaney Parangy. Large ulcers, cauliflower excrescences, two or three more of these sores with the cauliflower excrescences will run into one another and form one large ulcer with a cauliflower excrescence.

For the cure of the first three varieties of the Parangy-ledha, the following remedy is given.

Take of

Badula-gaha-kiri	..	—
Attika-gaha-kiri	..	—
Ghaetha-nitul-gaha-kiri	..	—
Bogaha-kiri	..	<i>Ficus religiosa.</i>
Magul-karanda-mool-potu	..	<i>Dalbergia arborea</i> , of each 80 madara
Kikirinde-kolla-isme	..	—The expressed juice of one plant

The whole to be put into a brass plate and to be exposed to the heat of the sun for 3 or 4 hours. The expressed juice will rise to the surface and is to be skimmed off and thrown away. The following articles are then to be added.

Take of

Sudu-duru	..	—
Kalu-duru	..	—
Sadika	..	<i>Necus moschata.</i>
Gadulu-kudu	..	Brick dust....of each 15 kalanda.
Pasa	..	Sand taken from a place where ducks sit at night, ....3 madara.

Reduce the whole to a fine powder and put into the mixture in the brass plate, and expose to the heat of the sun for one hour.

Take of

Rahadia	..	<i>Mercurium purificatum</i> ,..20 madara.
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Boulat-isma

.. Expressed betel juice,....2
or 3 oz.

The mercury and the expressed betel juice are to be put together into a small cup and to be exposed to the sun for one hour. The mercury is next to be rolled up into a piece of rag in the form of a candle wick and to be dipped into Tala tel. The wick containing the mercury is then to be lighted at a candle and to be held over the brass plate containing the mixture; as the wick is burnt the mercury will drop into the plate of a golden colour. The whole is then to be well mixed by stirring and to be put into a teacup for use. This medicine when prepared is called Rassadiatayile, and is used as follows. A small incision is to be made into the scalp on the crown of the head. A quantity of the clear liquor is to be poured on the part and to be rubbed in. A quantity is also to be rubbed into the palms of the hands and soles of the feet. The ulcers are to be dressed with the sediment. If after the lapse of seven days the sores show no disposition to heal, the application of the remedy is to be repeated as at first.

The following is a remedy given for all sorts of the Parangy Ledha.

Take of

Sina-mool	..	—60 kalanda.
Khotamalee	..	<i>Coriandrum sativum</i> .
Walanga-sal	..	—of each 40 kalanda.
Karambu	..	<i>Caryophyllus aromaticus</i> .
Wassa wasi	..	Mace.
Sadika	..	<i>Necus moschata</i> .
Korasani	..	—10 kalanda.
Tipili	..	<i>Piper longum</i> ..15 kalanda.
Sid-inghuru	..	<i>Zingiber siccatum</i> ..1
		measure.

The Sina-mool is previously to be dried in a chatty over a slow fire; the other ingredients are next to be added and dried also. The whole is then to be reduced to a fine powder.

60 madara of this powder is to be given every morning in a little honey for twenty-one days.

Lime juice, salt, the ash-coloured pumpkin, and even cold water are prohibited during the use of this remedy.

The following remedy is reckoned by the Wedarales often efficacious in removing the slighter cases of the disease.

Take of

Kotang-alla	..	—
Siwanguru	..	—
Ponaritaraan	..	—of each 20 madara.
Kurundupotu	..	<i>Laurus cinnamomum</i> ...225 kalandas.
Tala-tel and Elinga-tel	..	of each $\frac{1}{2}$ measure.

These articles are to be finely powdered, and to be mixed with the oils in a copper chatty. A hole is to be made in the ground in which the chatty is to be put, and is to be covered up, leaving however the top of the chatty bare which is to be covered with a cake of clay. A fire of Cinnamon wood is to be made on the clay covering the top of the chatty and to be kept burning for three days. At the end of this time the chatty is to be taken out of the hole in the ground ; the contents will be found a dry powder.

10 madara of this powder to be mixed with the sugar and given every morning, or even twice a day.

A preparation of Mercury used in the form of an external application is frequently found successful in curing the disease without the use of medicines internally ; the following is a mode of preparing it.

Take of

Rahadiya	..	<i>Mercurium purificatum</i> ...4 madara
Rathnitul-mool	..	<i>Plumbago rosea</i>
Watchinabi-mool	..	—of each 20 madara.
Aralu-isma	..	<i>Terminalia chebulic.</i>
Inghuru-isma	..	<i>Zingiber rad.</i> ..of each a little.

The quicksilver first undergoes a preparation by putting it into a cup with some expressed betel juice, which is exposed to the sun till the betel juice is evaporated to dryness and the mercury has assumed a golden colour. The mercury is then to be rubbed in a mortar with the other ingredients till the whole assume the form of an unguent, to which add,

Palmanikum .. *Sulphas cupri*...7 madara
previously roasted in a small chatty and powdered. The whole is then to be intimately mixed.

The parts affected are to be rubbed with this remedy.

The following is also frequently efficacious without the use of medicine internally.

Take of

Karanda-isma

.. *Dalbergia arborea*.

The milk of two ripe cocoanuts (the kernels being rasped down, and squeezed by the hand gives the milk) ; mix these together and place in a chatty on a quick fire and boil to one half ; to this add Palmanikum (*Sulphas cupri*) in powder, 3 or 4 madara, which is to be well mixed by stirring, and to be placed again on the fire and to be evaporated till it acquires the consistence of a paste. The application of this remedy is the same as that of the *ungentum psoricum* in cases of itch.

If these remedies fail to cure, the Rahadiya-basne, as mentioned for Syphilis, is to be given so as to effect the mouth, but not to salivate.



SINHALESE AND THE ARYAN LANGUAGES:

A Rejoinder to Mr. M. H. Kantawala, C. C. S.

By Gate Mudaliyar W. F. GUNAWARDHANA.

IN Part I of this article, (which appeared in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, Part III), I examined the grounds on which Mr. Kantawala based his contention that Sinhalese is an Aryan language "out and out" as he says, and I think I have sufficiently shewn how far his best efforts have been able to justify his confidence.

My contribution was shown to Mr. Kantawala before publication, for his comments if any, by the Editor, and the note appended from him seems to be eloquent and conclusive proof that Mr. Kantawala realises the utter hopelessness of his position, being the anti-climax to the glowing anticipations with which he opened his campaign. When in a scientific discussion a gentleman indulges in such language as "impostor," "bully", "wielder of the big stick" (expressed or implied) towards his adversary, the reader can have no difficulty in drawing his own conclusions as to the situation of this heated contestant, apart from the merits of the case as disclosed in the discussion. I would, therefore, have preferred to ignore the whole of Mr. Kantawala's note as bad in taste and out of court, but as private considerations should give way before the interests of a scientific discussion, I examine this curious note which is remarkable not so much for its matter as for its manner.

The principal feature of the note is the conception Mr. Kantawala shews himself to entertain of the official position of himself in this controversy. The controversy was started by him by an appeal to the learned world against certain views of mine on Sinhalese philology. When a reply is made to such an appeal, it is common sense to understand the reply as intended for the same tribunal. But Mr. Kantawala assumes that the reply was intended for his adjudication, and on that assumption he proceeds to give judgment. To the extent that his own offensive has been met he says

that he is not "convinced," (which I believe, too !) and, speaking further in the role of judge, he declares that he starts with "no preconceived opinions or bias" (which is very good of him), and that he has "an inclination to learn" (which shews consideration); and immediately after this reassuring preamble, he, with the preamble still ringing in his own ears, proceeds to his finding (as self-constituted judge, of course.) "The more I read the Mudaliyar's arguments" says he, "the more I feel that Sinhalese is out and out Aryan."

If the mentality here disclosed, with the haunting hallucination and tone of judge where one is only a party, was all, that would have been bad enough. But there is worse. In my last I had occasion to call attention to the manner in which Mr. Kantawala had quoted me, giving plenty of room for misconception, through carelessness, of course, but still with the result going in his favour. This time, I regret to say, his failure in this direction has been more pronounced. In speaking of Sinhapura ('City of the Sinhas'), the capital of a new principality in the kingdom of Kálinga, not far removed from the frontiers of South-Western Bengal, I had said that "it is reasonable to identify the principality with Sing Bhum ('Land of the Sinhas') in Chutia Nágpur which, even at the present day, is a Dravidian cradle." Anybody will see that the whole energy of this statement lies in the word "even", and that, this word removed, the statement will give a meaning far from what was intended, and quite useless for the argument. And what does Mr. Kantawala do in quoting me ? He omits this very word. This is how he quotes :—

"The Kingdom of Kálinga, not far removed from the frontiers of South-Western Bengal—Chutia Nágpur (is this Chotu Nágpur, I wonder ?) is at the present day a Dravidian country."

And on this quotation he bases his own comment as follows :—
"Is this argument to be taken seriously ? Should no allowance be made for the lapse of twenty centuries of Indian history ?" It is for the reader to say which lapse enters really into the question here—the lapse of the centuries, or the lapse of Mr. Kantawala ?

But we have not done with this gentleman's peculiarities of debate ; there is one more peculiarity which deserves notice. By his own admission, Mr. Kantawala sometimes talks loosely, like a man, for instance, who would speak of the solar system generally where he meant only the moon ; he makes no distinction

between the general and the particular, and in his speech "Indian languages" do not stand for all the languages of India, but must be understood as meaning certain of them which he has in mind. This, it is plain, is a way of talking which is far from desirable in a scientific discussion; but it becomes positively objectionable when it gives the speaker a free license to advance any argument he likes, however fallacious, and to retreat the moment he feels he will be cornered. In my last I showed up a number of such cases, and Mr. Kantawala, far from looking small, actually turns tables on me by right of his license, and says that my showing up was "futile." I would not have minded the bold face had he taken the lesson to mind all the same. But I find that his habits have the better of him; they are like the opium habit, they grow, and, among his other peculiarities, the loose talk continues. Mark the following passage:—

"To take a single instance, while speaking Sinhalese at home or abroad, I have very often merely to transliterate whole Indian sentences—idioms, proverbs and the rest—word for word, syntax by syntax, into Sinhalese; but *I cannot do so in Tamil.*"

Here, if we take Mr. Kantawala on the face value of his evidence, he certainly would seem to make out a very strong case; we would have to accept as clearly shewn that Sinhalese can have no kinship with Tamil, and that no Indian sentence can be transliterated into Tamil speech. But we know that this second proposition is false; for Tamil sentences are Indian sentences, and to say that they cannot be transliterated into Tamil (i.e. graphically represented in terms of Tamil phonetics) is absurd. On the soundness of this proposition hangs the argumentative value of the other, and if I had left this passage unbarred and unchallenged, it is plain that Mr. Kantawala gets a vast undue advantage. If I now challenge it, he, of course, quits the high ground and takes shelter behind his undue license. Why tactics of this sort or any other should be adopted in a scientific discussion, where arriving at the truth should be the one aim, passes my comprehension. But, of course, there is no accounting for tastes. For the benefit of the reader, I may hazard a conjecture as to what would be the authoritative meaning of the above passage if challenged. Going by precedent, it seems to be this: Mr. Kantawala can transliterate sentences from an Aryan vernacular of India straight off into Sinhalese, but into Tamil he cannot.

The first statement here would be a mighty exaggeration, and, if challenged, ought to put Mr. Kantawala in a terrible quandary; the second statement will be perfectly true. But it is equally true that the inability to transliterate straight off into Tamil is due to a very good reason which has nothing whatever to do with linguistic anatomy with which alone the discussion is concerned. In the so-called Aryan vernaculars of India and Sinhalese on one side, and Tamil on the other, the vocabulary is different. But in the "Indian sentence" which has been rattled off by transliteration into Sinhalese, substitute Tamil words for Aryan words or Semitic words there found, each word keeping its own inflection and the sentence keeping its structure and its order unchanged, and Mr. Kantawala will be surprised to find how the composition stands perfect Dravidian—"idioms, proverbs and the rest—word for word, syntax by syntax," in his own phraseology. Let Mr. Kantawala try the experiment, and prepare to hear with becoming patience and a chastened spirit the astounding proposition (astounding to him) that not Sinhalese only, the unhappy subject of this discussion, but all the so-called Aryan vernaculars of India, are founded on a structural basis mainly Dravidian.

Mr. Kantawala says: "Idioms which I never suspected would have travelled so far, grammatical constructions which I should not have even dreamt of some 1500 miles away, are still so patently, so obviously, so profusely, current in Sinhalese, that, whether the Mudaliyar wills it or no, I am still perforced to regard Sinhalese as an Aryan offshoot."

I disclaim the honour of willing to direct or arrest the operations of Mr. Kantawala's mind. But now that we are on it I might *wish* that Mr. Kantawala had reasoned correctly before allowing himself to be "perforced" to conclusions after his own ideas and displaying them before other people. From the existence of idioms etc., at 1500 miles apart, he concludes that both ends are Aryan; indeed he is "perforced" to that conclusion. It is a curious immediate inference drawn from distance! Why not Dravidian for the same reason? Perhaps there is a little ellipsis in the reasoning and Mr. Kantawala probably goes upon the name 'Aryan vernaculars.' In that case I say that that name was suggested by external appearances at a time when light on the true internal character was wanting, and that in the present day [of light, that name is a mere convention, with next to nothing of probative value as evidence. So that, whether I will it or no, Mr. Kantawala must realize that his "perforced" belief is entirely his own affair, having little to do with the argument.

We now come to the winding up of his delightful note which, with unconscious humour, the writer has reserved to the last to cap the performance. This is how it reads :—

“ As I said before, I wish to learn and be taught. But I certainly do not wish to be imposed upon by false theorisings or nebulous data ; nor to be ‘ bullied ’ by anything tantamounting to *argumentum ad baculum*. ”

Still the same lofty tone of the judge who, though “ perforced ” to be wedded to an idea “ tantamounting ” to anything near blimp belief, is yet condescending enough, as a matter of grace, to hear the other side ! But the judge gives himself away when he warns the supposed petitioner before him how to behave—that he should not be an impostor, that he should not try bullying, and what is more tell-tale of the true position, that he should not be free with the big stick—on the judge !

Now that he knows what is what, will Mr. Kantawala put away from his mind the false idea of being judge in this business and content himself to appear in his true humble position of petitioner-appellant ? If he will honestly try, I can promise him full immunity from the gentle persuasiveness of the *baculum*. Hoping he will profit by an advice offered in all kindness and shew a clearer understanding hereafter, I now resume my address to the Court at the point where I last left off.

PREAMBLE.

In my last I shewed that nothing has been scientifically advanced against my proposition that Sinhalese, though a language mainly Aryan in its vocabulary, is, in its grammatical basis, mainly Dravidian. The absence of valid objections, however, or the inability of the objectors to maintain a negative, is no positive proof of a proposition ; the proposition has to be positively proved on its own merits. This I now propose to do with regard to my theory, which has apparently been suggested by others often before in a manner partial and tentative, and for which, in its present form, I seem to be responsible just the same as if the idea in part or wholly is now being suggested for the first time.

My proof shall be under two heads. Under head 1, I propose to shew that not Sinhalese, only, but all the so-called Aryan Vernaculars of India, which in respect of their Aryan element form but one class, are indebted for much of the fundamentals of their

structure to Dravidian influence. Under head 2, I propose to shew, with special reference to Sinhalese, that its Dravidian affinities go further, and that the Sinhalese Language is dominated to a considerable extent by the principles of Tamil Grammar and by Tamil idioms.

THE DRAVIDIAN BASIS OF THE ARYAN VERNACULARS OF INDIA.

Whether the Aryans came into India as successful invaders or in the humbler capacity of immigrant hordes to find easier conditions of life under the shadow of native Dravidian princes of the houses of the Sun and the Moon, is a question which is of no concern in this inquiry. It is enough to know that they brought with them a culture, whether derived from Assyria or not is immaterial, which gained them much influence in the new country, and in process of time the general education of the country fell entirely into their hands. They were welcomed as honoured teachers everywhere, and with the religious and intellectual light which they disseminated, went their language hand in hand. Before this language, which extended into every department of life old and new, the native languages "went to the wall", and in all parts of India where the new influence was felt, new languages with an Aryan superstructure arose on the ruins of the old. These new languages are the "Aryan Vernaculars" of India. This name "Aryan Vernaculars" was undoubtedly good enough at the time it was bestowed on this group of languages by European scholars; for, at that time, light was as yet meagre, and people had to take such things for what they seemed outwardly. But now we are living in an age of greater light shed by science, and the time has come when we should have more accurate ideas of things in their true character, both external and, internal, and in the case of these languages, ideas more in keeping with the present advanced stage of Comparative Philology.

It seems to me—and I do not think it necessary in the present case to preface my remarks with the apologies which would have been usual if I was advancing a new opinion—that the name "Aryan Vernaculars" for these languages is scientifically a misnomer. Language has two aspects to it, one as represented by the vocabulary, the other as represented by the grammar; and of these two aspects, grammar is held to be the more important as being in its foundations unchangeable and permanent, while the vocabulary may be modified,

changed, or entirely replaced without affecting the efficiency of the language. It is held, therefore, that the essential element of a language—that which conserves its individual being and gives it character—is the grammar, from which it follows that the 'raciality' of a language depends not upon the vocabulary, which is liable to change, but upon this essential element which is permanent.

Now it is plain that if the so-called Aryan Vernaculars of India are Aryan in their vocabulary, that is no reason for our accepting them as truly Aryan. If the grammar shows Dravidian characteristics, then we have to be careful how we take the name as a proper hall-mark. We shall now see what the grammar has to say on the subject of the structural basis of these languages.

It is a self-evident axiom that language, as a means of expression, centres round the noun and the verb, the other parts of speech merely being accessories to these two. Without a noun (in which expression the adjective and the pronoun are included) a sentence is not possible; nor is a sentence possible without a verb. Hence these two factors are inseparably bound up with the life of a language, and above all other things give to the language that character which is peculiar to its class. It is therefore in the noun and the verb that we must look for those peculiarities of languages which determine their class or family; and so we have to be guided in the present inquiry. In the consideration of these two vital factors of language, the vocabulary is of no account except to the extent of giving us the words whose functional use and its various methods, all summarised in the term 'structure,' become the determining factor; and where our inquiry is concerned with the structure, several norms become necessary for purposes of comparison; and in regard to our Aryan Vernaculars it becomes necessary that we should have three such norms, *viz.* one on the truly Aryan, one on the Dravidian, and one on the Vernacular side.

On the truly Aryan side, we know that the language of the Védas was the speech brought into India by the Aryans—speech both written and spoken. We know that it was spoken, for within the interval that elapsed between the first Vêda (the *Rig*) and the fourth and last (the *Atharvan*), we find the language to have undergone considerable change, and this was possible only if it was moveable, *i.e.*, if it was spoken speech. This language, as representing the sacred tongue in which the Védas are enshrined,

is called *Chandas* ("metrical" from the early hymns in which religious feeling found expression); in its later culture as the language of literature and science, it became known as *Sanskrit* ("refined" speech); and as speech gone into currency among the masses as the vernacular, and there undergoing all kinds of contaminations and corruptions, it received, by way of contradistinction to *Sanskrit*, the name of *Prakrit*, i.e., speech "unreformed". Both *Chandas* as the language of the sacred, and *Sanskrit* as the language of profane literature, became fixed, while the *Prakrit*, being moveable, became differentiated in different parts of India, and broke up even at the earliest stage, within the ken of modern research, into several *Prakrits*, of which the best known that has come down to us is *Māgadhi*, the language of the Buddhist canon, now known as *Pāli* (which literally means the "row" or "Text"). The Aryan Vernaculars of India of the present day are the descendants of these early *Prakrits* coming down under various stages and various forms of change.

We thus find that for the purposes of our inquiry we can have either *Chandas* or *Sanskrit* (both equally fixed and structurally free from corruption) as our norm on the truly Aryan side. We will take them indifferently in the course of the following remarks and call the norm simply 'Aryan'. On the Dravidian side we will have Tamil as the standard, that being the best cultivated language of the Dravidian family. And on the side of the Aryan Vernaculars, the Hindī being universally accepted to be the widest prevalent and the most representative, that will be made the standard of comparison here. Of course, other languages will be availed of where special occasion arises.

(To be continued).

Notes & Queries.

SURGEON GEORGE BINGHAM, BENGAL MEDICAL SERVICE, 1784-1793.

By P. M. BINGHAM.

I FIND in the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol. VIII, page 68) certain notes on Early British Times by C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., in which he mentions two books giving names of Civilians who were in the service of the East India Company from 1741, namely *Dodwell and Miles* and *Princep*. I shall be obliged if anyone who has these books will very kindly let me know whether mention is made of the above Officer, or, failing this, where trace of him might be found.

"THE FIRST ENGLISH SCHOOL IN CEYLON."

BY THE LATE MR. J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G.

MR. L. J. Gratiaen's paper (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VII. p.141) is an interesting contribution to the history of the Island under the British regime. But there is one statement in it from which an erroneous inference might be drawn, viz. that the Rev. James Cordiner was the first English clergyman to arrive in the Island. He says "though Governor North arrived in Ceylon in 1798, he was not able to give his attention to education for nearly a year. This was partly due to the fact that there was no English clergyman in the island to whom the business might be entrusted."

If this means that there was no English clergyman in the Island when the Governor arrived, it is not correct; but if it can be taken to mean that there was no English clergyman fit to be entrusted with this work, it is possibly quite correct.

For there was already a chaplain at Colombo in the person of the Rev. Philip Rosenhagen, B.A. or M.A. of Cambridge University (St. John's Coll.), who had been Naval Chaplain on board the *Suffolk*, Admiral Rainier's flagship in the expeditions against Trincomalee and Colombo in 1795-6. On the surrender of the latter he was appointed to do duty with the troops ashore, and he retained this appointment until his death in April, 1799. It was probably owing to his death that Cordiner was sent to Colombo to act as Chaplain to the 51st Foot, which embarked with him at Madras in the same month. But he may have been sent to Colombo in any case, for Rosenhagen's appointment to the Chaplaincy there, which was made by the Government of Fort St. George, was not approved by the Directors of the East India Company, who ordered it to be revoked, a procedure which was rendered unnecessary by his death.

But there is no doubt that he was for some time resident at Colombo, and was there before Governor North, for on 4th August, 1798, he officiated at the marriage there of Lieutenant John De Morgan and Miss Elizabeth Dodson, who became the parents of a boy well known later as Professor Augustus De Morgan, the mathematician. This, by the by, is the first marriage of English people at Colombo of which there is a record. (This is at Fort St. George).

The alternative I have mentioned is that the Rev. Mr. Rosenhagen was hardly the right person to be entrusted with the oversight of a new educational system for the Island. He must have been a person of some learning and ability, for he was Platt Fellow at Cambridge from 1761 to 1771. But he is described in *Admissions to St. John's, Cambridge* (published in 1903) as "a loose fish and not a member of whom the College can be proud."

One episode in his career was his telling Lord North (the Prime Minister), in order that he might obtain a pension, that he was the author of the *Letters of Junius*. But, says his biographer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "this story was not believed except by his son." He was sixty-two at the time of his death.

SINHALESE CHRONOLOGY.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA.

The chronology of the earliest period of Ceylon History presents some difficulties. A number of important adjustments seem necessary. These adjustments must more or less be based on the following precise dates furnished by the ancient chronicles :—

(1) "The Prince named Vijaya, the valiant, landed in Lanka, in the region called Tambapanni, on the day that the Tathágata (Buddha) lay down.....to pass into *Nibbána*" (*Mah. VI. 47; Dip. 9 21—22; Smp. 320.²⁰*).

∴ *Buddha died & Vijaya arrived in Lanka—A.B. 1=B.C.543*

(2) "The 7th in hereditary succession was Devanapétissa, who became King of this Island....in the 236th year after the death of Buddha....and in the 1st year of the reign of King Devanapétissa" the Apostle Mahinda "established the religion (Buddhism) in this Sri Lanka" (*Nik. San. p 10; Dip. 17.78*).

∴ *Devánampiya Tissa ascended the throne—A.B. 236=B.C.307*

Buddhism was established in Lanka —A.B. 237=B.C.306

The Mahá Vihára was founded —A.B. 237=B.C.306

(3) "Valagam Abhá (Vattagámani Abhaya) succeeded to the throne 439 years, 9 months and 10 days after the death of Buddha" (*Nik. San. p10*).

∴ *Vattagámani ascended the throne —A.B. 439=B.C.104*

(4) a. "When 217 years, 10 months and 10 days had passed since the founding of the Mahá Vihára, the King (Vattagámani Abhaya) built the Abhayagiri Vihára" (*Mah. XXXIII. 80-81*).

b. "He (Vattagámani) built the Vihára called Abhayagiri and offered it to a priest named Tissa....At this time 217 years, 10 months and 10 days had elapsed since the death of Buddha" (*Nik. San. p 11*).

We have already seen that Buddhism was established and the Mahá Vihára founded in A. B. 237 (=B. C. 306). And we are now told that the Abhayagiri Vihára was built 217 years afterwards—that is, in A. B. 454 (i.e. A. B. 237 + A. B. 217).

∴ *The Abhayagiri Vihára was built in A.B. 454=B.C. 89.*

(5) "A Nikáya called Dharmarúci, of a body of men separated from the Thériya Nikáya, was established in Bhágiri Vehera in the 15th year of the reign of Valagam Abhá (Vattagámani) and 454 years after the death of Buddha" (*Nik. San. p 12*).

∴ *The Dharmarūci Nikāya was established—A. B. 454=B.C.89.*

Since this occurred in the 15th year of

Vattagāmani, the latter must have

ascended the throne in

A.B. 439=B.C.104.

(6) "The King named Vyavahāratissa (Vohārika Tissa)... became King of this country 752 years, 4 months and 10 days after the death of Buddha" (*Nik. San* p 12).

∴ *Vohārika Tissa ascended the throne in A.B. 752=A.D. 209.*

An adjustment has to be made in the period between A. B. 439 (=B. C. 104), the first year of Vattagāmani's reign, and A. B. 752 (A. D. 209), the first year of Vohārika Tissa's reign. The total duration of the intervening reigns should be 313 years, but the figures given by the chronicles actually work out to 308 years. The difference is 5 years, and the necessary adjustment must be made in one or more of the reigns of the sovereigns who exercised sway in the interval. In the absence, however, of any definite indication as to where exactly the adjustment might reasonably be made, and till more information is available on the point, I would suggest that the difficulty might be got rid of by *provisionally* adding 5 years to the 1 year given by the *Mahāvansa* as the duration of the reign of Vijaya II. In thus giving 6 years to Vijaya II, there is at least the authority of the *Rājāvali*, which does likewise.

(7) "In the 4th year of his (King Gothābhaya's) reign over Sri Lanka ... a sect called Sāgaliya, separated from the Dharmarūci sect, was established in the Dakunugiri Vihara, 795 years after the death of Buddha" (*Nik. San.* p 13).

∴ *King Gothābhaya ascended the throne in A.D. 791=A.D. 248.*

The Sāgaliya sect was established in A.D. 795=A.D. 252.

(8) "King Mahasen (Mahā Sena) succeeded to the throne 818 years after the death of Buddha" (*Nik. San.* p 14).

∴ *Mahā Sena ascended the throne in A.D. 818=A.D. 275*

(9) "At the close of the Great Dynasty, 844 years 9 months and 25 days had elapsed since the death of our Buddha... The Great Dynasty ends with Mahasen (*Raj.*, p 52; *Puj.*, p 25).

∴ *King Mahā Sena died)*

The Great Dynasty ended)

in A.B. 845=A.D. 302.

We know definitely that Gothābhaya ascended the throne in A. B. 791) A. D. 248), and Mahā Sena in A. B. 818 (A. D. 275). The intervening period is 27 years, but the chronicles give us only 23 years (Gothābhaya 13 years, Jettha Tissa 10 years). An adjustment of 4 years is necessary, and these might be added, *provisionally* to Jettha Tissa.

A KUTIRAIMALAI TRADITION AND SOME CYCLONES.

By the late MR. J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G.

ALLI Arasani and Pavala Senai were two sisters. The elder, Alli, had a palace on the bank of the Modaragam river. At that time there was no bay or bend of the coast line as there is now.

The famous tidal wave of 1812 was the cause of the formation of the bay which now exists. It also destroyed the palace of Alli, and its ruins may still be seen on the southern bank of the river, and from these ruins the foundation stones of the church called "Paralokamadu" were taken. The same wave destroyed all the fresh water springs at Mannar.

There is a monument at Kutiraimalai which is a facsimile in miniature of the Anurádhapura *dágabas*. There is one resembling it at Tavasimalai near Madawachohi. (In other words there are *dágabas* at Kutiraimalai and Tavasimalai.)

Alli used to go to her sister's residence and play at Pándi—a kind of chess—with her.

By "the famous tidal wave of 1812" must be meant the tidal wave of 25th November, 1814. Its effects are described in the *Ceylon Government Gazette* of 7 December, 1814.

"At Delft the sea burst over the whole of the Banks to the north and north-west, entirely inundating the Island and causing the destruction of everything that came in its way, with the exception of the Government Store. Houses have been blown down, the Hemp crop has been destroyed and the Wheat has sustained great injury, the Hemp in store has been spoilt by Salt water and two lives have been lost, and the inhabitants have lost nearly the whole of their Goats and Sheep, with 4000 palmira trees.

"At the Two Brothers Island the western wall of the large stables gave way and crushed to death 28 colts. The inhabitants are said to have lost 3600 head of cattle—all the tanks and wells filled with sea water.

"At Werteltivu (Vidattaltivu) the sea broke in and washed down nearly the whole village, including the Magistrate's house and office. Two lives were lost and 600 head of cattle."

"At Mannar the storm was felt in its greatest fury, most of the houses in the Fort were unroofed and nearly all the houses of the natives were levelled with the ground. The Collector's

house was partly unroofed and the doors torn off ; the water stood ankle-deep in every room. Many lives were lost."

The same cyclone, which occurred at night, opened the Paumben Channel, and silted up the Mannar "River" so that Mannar was practically destroyed as a port, only small dhonies being thereafter able to get through the "River". Among the buildings destroyed at Mannar was the Dutch church, a room in the Fort being thenceforth used as a church, as it is still.

There is no record of a tidal wave in 1812 either in the *Government Gazette* or in Mr. Boake's *Mannar*. But he mentions the great storm of 1814, quoting apparently from the *Diary of the Collector*.

"November: Most distressing intelligence from all parts of the District,—houses blown down, tanks burst, fields flooded, cocoanut trees, etc., torn up, and small craft between Arripo and Manaar lost, whole or greater part of Werteltivoe swept away by the sea, 300 cocoanut trees blown down in Manaar, and 2000 palmiras at Talemanaar."

There were similar cyclones over the Jaffna Peninsula and adjoining seas on 16 October and 16 December, 1884, of the first of which I had a thrilling experience.

On that occasion it blew a terrific hurricane from 7 p.m. until 1 a.m. and a cyclone wave swept over the Jaffna "Lake" into the harbour at Kayts and along the coasts of the islands. The parapet of the "Reclamation" wall at Karaiyur was swept from end to end, and a large portion of the retaining wall itself was overturned bodily in solid sections. Dhonies, boats and logs of timber were carried over the high road bordering the "Lake" through the fences and into the compounds on the inner side of the road. The Main Street from the Kacheheri to the Fort on the morning of the 17th. was impassable from fallen trees and branches "the appearance of the streets and roads about the town... was as if trees had been purposely felled and thrown across them in order to impede the advance of an invading army towards the Fort." Some twenty-five persons were drowned or killed by falling trees, and large numbers of cattle perished. And a chief headman informed years afterwards that one effect of the cyclone was to bring the prickly pear over from Delft, where it flourishes, to the Jaffna Peninsula and spread it there, but this I think was an incorrect but ingenious theory only.

This cyclone was not felt at Mannar, where there was merely heavy rain.

THE LATE MR. J. P. LEWIS.

Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor of the *Mysore Economic Journal*, Bangalore, writes to us as follows under date January 5th, 1924:—

"It is with extreme regret that we, in South India, hear of the death of Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. The late Mr. Lewis was known to us from a period anterior to the founding of the *Ceylon Antiquary*. Since its foundation, Mr. Lewis has been prominently before our eyes through his excellent contributions to it. He gave a great impetus to the study of the history of Ceylon since the Portuguese times. His ardent nature led him to most unlikely places for purposes of verification or for adding to our scanty knowledge of men and things connected with Ceylon. It was typical of him to seek every possible aid in clearing up an obscure point relating to place or date.

"The present writer came to know him (of course through correspondence) in one of his peregrinations of this kind. Desirous of checking a date, Mr. Lewis got into touch with the undersigned about 1908 or so (through that other great necrologist of the East, Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S.) and since then there had been a sort of instinctive freemasonry between them both, which made Mr. Lewis think of the present writer on occasions when help was called for from the Madras side, for clearing up a doubtful point or other relating to Madras Civilians or others who had long, long ago served in Ceylon in some capacity or another. The pages of the *Antiquary* are fair evidence of this and so I need not elaborate on this particular point.

"Mr. Lewis showed uncommon interest in research work, and his unflagging zeal was (luckily enough) always attended with success. He richly deserved the success. And that success, too, has materially added to our knowledge of Ceylon's past. In the words of Landor, he was a "great writer," a true "writer of history," for has he not made old Ceylon times and men live before us ?

Literary Register.

"A CHANDALA WOMAN."

"A CHANDALA WOMAN," by Lucien de Zilwa, author of *The Dice of the Gods*, etc. Heath Cranton, Fleet Lane, E.C. 4, 7/6 net.

Ceylon, after an interval of six years, has become the venue of another novel by its only indigenous novelist.

This book deals with a question that may very well in the future, in our Eastern Empire, arise with increasing recurrence—the problem of caste as affected and influenced by the spread of Western ideas. Mr. Julius Monera, a Sinhalese gentleman of the highest caste, bearing the highest native title of "Wahala Mudaliyar," of great wealth—(was he not known as the "Coconut King," and the "Plumbago Prince,") of the utmost culture and the most refined tastes, Eastern and Western, a graduate of Cambridge and a member of the English bar, out of sheer benevolence has a little Rodiya waif of an orphan girl educated at a convent orphanage and at a ladies' school in Jersey, and her education is supplemented by a course at the Slade School. She becomes a beautiful woman and everything that is fascinating, is clever and artistic, and has at her command the latest fashionable and society slang as well as the *argot* of the Latin Quarter, for she was not content merely to have learnt in Jersey "to speak French fluently and elegantly."

Her guardian decides that her career, which he expects to culminate in her election as a Royal Academician, must be in England. But then he falls in love with her, only to find that she has done the same with some one else, a Sinhalese youth who is a student at Gray's Inn. This young gentleman is of good caste though not of such high caste as that of Mr. Monera, but he had advanced "nationalist" opinions, and was especially eloquent in denouncing the evils of the caste system. But when Mr. Monera discloses to him the secret of the heroine's birth, that the beautiful and accomplished Miss Sita Malvana is the daughter of a Rodiya woman

of Rodiya morals, "an indefinable horror sent a shiver through him, at the mere idea that he could marry a Rodiya, however cultivated, cultured and beautiful she might be. It was an ingrained, instinctive repulsion." So the engagement was broken off and in the end the hero married Sita.

But he decided that, "though he himself did not care about caste or what people said of him, it would not be fair to expose his wife to the snubs and slights, and all the annoyances of a million pin-pricks year in year out," or their children to insults. So he would make a nest for her, preferably "on the heights of Fiesole"; he would be constantly flitting to and fro between that and Ceylon, and he would have "a stately pleasure-dome, a dream palace at Colombo, in which if his wife cared, she could spend a month or two every year." "It would be like the magic house of Cupid and Psyche. It would be equipped like the mansion of a twentieth century Monte Christo. His Colombo house, already luxurious enough, judging from its description at the beginning of the book, "would be transformed. One wing of it would be as the jessamine Burj of the Mogul Emperors."

It may perhaps be said that this plot is quite an impossible plot; that an extreme case is imagined which could never happen. We do not think so at all. While there are rich Sinhalese, educated in Western ideas, and the air of Ceylon is full of "Social Service", and the merits of benevolence, it is quite a possible situation, and Dr. de Zilwa has done well to tackle it and shown courage in his treatment of it. Dr. de Zilwa's sense of the humorous and his decided gift for sarcasm are displayed in this book as in *The Dice of the Gods*. His description of the highest caste in the Island is an amusing *reductio ad absurdum*. Whatever our opinion may be as to the claims of caste and the value or otherwise of the caste system, it must be admitted that his quasi-historical account of the fabulous origin and present pretensions of the so-called "Flier" caste in Ceylon is a masterpiece of sarcasm; it is really not unworthy of Dean Smith or of Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World."

He is not kind to the travelling lady novelist. "Miss Parthenia Whalebone....looked like a police-woman from Hampstead or Piccadilly, but was really a writer, travelling in search of local colour for a novel to be called *On Beira's Banks*." But he does not spare other types peculiar to the island and, as in *The Dice*

of the Gods, he has a sharp eye for the foibles and vanities exhibited by his countrymen. At Anurádhapura, where some of the ruined shrines were being restored by the Buddhists, "the steep foot-path was protected by an iron railing with the inevitable tablet advertising the name of the giver." He is deservedly severe on the want of taste displayed in these same restorations. "The statues were obviously only the mechanical output of clever workmen who had never been quickened by any breath of artistic emotion. It was not such men as these masons and contractors that had erected the mournful Ananda of Topare."

Then there are the newspapers with their "reports of farewell dinners to post-masters, police magistrates or excise inspectors under orders to 'proceed' to another station." He emphasises too the unreality of the speeches at other dinners, as for instance of Ceylonese students in England. When at one of these functions young Mr. Kalugala had "concluded a moving peroration with an appeal to his hearers to acquit themselves in a manner worthy of the traditions of Wall, of Alwis, of Lorenz," and had "sat down in a whirlwind of applause, his neighbour, the Master of a Cambridge College, annoyed him considerably by asking how these men had distinguished themselves. The annoyance was all the greater because he did not know himself; the appeal was only an echo of language he had heard from the lips of other speakers." The overspreading of the country with the surface concomitants of Western civilisation is illustrated by the description of an auction sale of land in the Low-country. "The owner was hospitably urging his visitors to partake of Marie biscuits, and Capstan cigarettes, and aerated waters manufactured by a Moorman of the next village in his back-garden."

Dr. de Zilwa makes the present condition of the Rodiyas rather worse than it really is. Whatever it may have been even as late as the days of Emerson Tennent, three quarters of a century ago, it is not correct that now-a-days "they may not build houses, but only rough lean-tos to shelter them from wind and rain," or that the men may wear "only a loin cloth not reaching below their knees," or that "the women are not allowed to wear any garment above the waist." We have been to Rodiya villages where fully-clothed men and women owned tiled houses close to their paddy fields. It is a delusion, too, that Rodiya women are always beautiful. The Rodiya women we saw had no claim to

such a description. The fact is that Tennent's account of them, and the picture by which he illustrates it, have become stereotyped as describing the perpetual condition of the Rodiyas.

J. P. L.

"BYGONE DAYS IN INDIA."

"BYGONE DAYS IN INDIA," by Douglas Dewar, with eighteen Illustrations. John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, 1922. Price 18/- net.

This is an entertaining book, and is likely to be so found, not merely by—we were going to write "Anglo Indians", but that useful word cannot now be used in its former sense, as it has recently been handed over to the Eurasians—but also by readers who have had no personal experience of India. The period with which it deals is confined to the latter portion of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century—India before the Mutiny.

The opening chapter describes the experiences of an officer who went out to India eighty four years ago, and the last—though this is travelling a little outside the record—contains an account of a voyage home sixty years ago, just after the Mutiny. The second chapter is devoted to a description of the same officer's journey by palanquin from Bombay to Simla, upon which he had to start almost immediately on his arrival at Bombay on 31st December, 1837, so as to be back in some part of the Bengal Presidency at the expiry of his leave. He had to buy a palanquin for the journey from Bombay to Mhow, a distance of 390 miles, and the hire of the sixteen bearers cost him Rs. 390. They did an average of 34 miles a day. At Mhow he had to get a new set of bearers, and at Bahr, at the foot of the hills, a lighter kind of vehicle, called a "*jampan*" or "*jampot*"—"the gondola of Simla." He arrived there on May 2nd.

There is also a review of the old handbooks to India published at the beginning of the first-half of the nineteenth century. We learn from the earliest of these that in 1763 there were only three unmarried ladies—English, of course—in Calcutta, though at Fort St. George, in 1699, there were no fewer than fourteen English widows and ten "single English young women." From the latest of them it appears that in 1847, "no matter what route

was taken to Egypt," the cost of the overland route to India amounted roughly to £150. It was two-thirds of this during the late war. The expenses of a bachelor keeping house at Calcutta are estimated at Rs. 625 a month in 1809, and at Rs. 155 in 1847, but the author thinks the latter much under-estimated and no doubt he is right.

A chapter gives short biographies of the three first Oriental scholars of the Bombay presidency, all officers in the Bombay Army. Others describe the genesis of the *sola topi* and of the *punka*. It appears that the use of the hanging *punka* dates from 1784-9, though its invention may be earlier, for its introduction has been attributed to those pioneers of European civilisation in the East, the Portuguese. For this, however, there is no evidence. It was unknown in the time of Warren Hastings. For the first quarter of a century after its invention, its use was confined to the dining room. The *punka* was introduced into Ceylon by Major General Hay MacDowall, so that it was probably started in Colombo about 1800, and there too was probably used at meals only at first. The *sola topi* is of later date; it has not been traced earlier than 1833. No one knows who was its inventor, nor who was the designer of another domestic comfort of the tropics, the long chair, nor when that useful piece of furniture first appeared in the bungalow. The plant that provides the pith for the "sun hat", the *shola* (*E A schynomene aspera*), it may be noted, grows in the Mannar District as well as in Bengal, and the late Captain William Ferguson, when he was in the Irrigation Department, had an idea that it might be utilized commercially. At one time it used to be exported to India for making artificial flowers, but I fear no use is made of it now.

There is an interesting history of the rise of English journalism in India. The most remarkable editor of an Indian newspaper, the *Calcutta Journal*, was James Silk Buckingham, who had an extraordinary career. He may be said, from his propensity to fall foul of the Government, i.e. the Company and prominent officials, to have been the Dr. Elliott of India. Their connection with the Press came to a sudden but very different end. Buckingham was expelled from the East Indies, but Dr. Elliott was appointed Principal Civil Medical Officer of Ceylon. The most interesting of these newspaper men to Ceylon readers is William Knighton.

" This journalist is best known to the public as the author of *The Private Life of an Eastern King*, which was published shortly before the Mutiny. When he was nineteen years old, Knighton went to Ceylon to manage a coffee estate. Two years of this was as much as he could tolerate, and he thankfully accepted an invitation to become the editor of the *Ceylon Herald* on a small salary." Knighton writes of himself in this role : " Totally ignorant of the mysteries of printing, innocent of the difference between a composing stick and a galley, between Great Primer type and Diamond, I seated myself at the little table in the mysterious office, sole manager and director, editor, corrector of the press, accountant, cashier, treasurer, and letter writer of the newspaper and of the printing office."

Mr. Dewar remarks " From this it will be inferred that the office was not overstaffed. The staff consisted of Knighton, one clerk, a Goanese head printer, some compositors, and a couple of peons. ' Fortunately', writes Knighton, ' the paper was published but twice a week, so that I had ample time to write leaders and correct the proof sheets, to write letters to myself and answer them in the editorial columns, to note down answers to correspondents in my liveliest vein, and to go through all the other business of the editor of a ' pushing ' colonial newspaper."

Mr. Dewar continues : " After a short time Knighton severed his connection with the *Ceylon Herald* and went to Calcutta to take up the post of lecturer on History and Logic at the Hindu College. Here, as before, the *furor scribendi* had him in its grip, and he wrote for the Bengal Press. He was also for a short time the editor of a new daily paper—the name is not given—which when he left India was still flourishing."

In the preface to his *Forest Life in Ceylon*, which is concerned not with forest life but with the life of a coffee planter on an estate which had recently been forest, Knighton says that he was four years in Ceylon, " as a Coffee-planter and the Editor of a newspaper," but he does not mention that he went out to Ceylon in 1843 as one of the headmasters of the three Central and Normal schools established by the Government at Colombo, Galle and Kandy. He was assigned to the Colombo school, but must have given it up to become a planter. Or perhaps it was the other way.

To *The Private Life of an Eastern King*, which was published in 1854, and reached a third edition in 1896. Mr. Dewar has an appreciative reference, but when it first appeared the editor of the *Ceylon Times* spoke of it as "that farrago of trash," and remarks that, "With all the vice of an Eastern Rajah, it is impossible that any Mahomedan of high repute could be guilty of such fooleries as are here described." But on the other hand Mr. Dewar describes the book as "a good account" of the Nawab of Oude, Nasir-ud-din Haiddar, who, if he was guilty of some follies, such as squandering "nearly the whole of the balance of the four crores of rupees left by his father, leaving in the reserve treasury only seventy lakhs," had enlightened views on some points. "Like his father, he had scientific tastes, and employed Colonel Wilcox as his astronomer-royal, and built an observatory. He was also much interested in steam-ships and purchased a steamer in which he used to make excursions on the Ganges. He subscribed liberally to the Bengal Steam Navigation Fund. He also acquired some reputation as a poet."

The *Ceylon Times*, moreover, had also spoken contemptuously of Knighton's *Forest Life in Ceylon*, which had appeared about a year before. "Mr. Knighton's book, for maudlin sentimentality, equals anything ever poured forth from that once fruitful repository of Grub Street, the Minerva Press." But possibly this was the jealousy of a former rival journalist. In both these newspaper notices Knighton is described as "formerly...of the Colombo Academy," so that there is no doubt that he was at one time a schoolmaster in Ceylon as well as planter and editor. Knighton, besides these books, wrote two others, one, in 1845, a *History of Ceylon*, and the other, in 1854, *Tropical Sketches, or Reminiscences*. He contributed besides papers on Oriental subjects to the reviews, English and Indian, and to the Royal Asiatic Society and its Ceylon Branch. Among these are papers on "Savage Life in India" and 'Young Bengal at Home' in the *Contemporary Review*, and on "Hindu Households" in the *Fortnightly*; all, I think, of the Eighties.

"Literary Civil Servants" are enumerated—there are only twenty-seven of them in all, but it must be remembered that the list closes in 1849. "The list" says Mr. Dewar, "is a short one. The Company's servants, more particularly those belonging to the judicial branch, were very hard-worked men. But this fact does

not explain completely the smallness of the list. No matter how busy a man with strongly developed literary tastes may be, he will find means of indulging these. The most busy men enjoyed furlough, and all had leisure after retirement. The true explanation seems to have been that in the day of patronage comparatively few 'brainy' men entered the Company's civil service. It was largely filled by younger sons of influential families."

These remarks no doubt apply with equal force to Ceylon. But perhaps our record is a little better. I do not know exactly what proportion the Ceylon Civil Service bore in numbers to the Civil Service of India between 1796 and 1849, but in that period we had five literary civilians, William Tolfrey, Sir John D'Oyly, Anthony Bertolacci, George Turnour, and William Granville. Perhaps Simon Sawers, Samuel Tolfrey, who is supposed to have written a vocabulary of Sinhalese, and Hugh Cleghorn on account of his 'Minute' on Land Tenure, might be added. But in India they had twenty only at the most.

It is curious that Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., late of the Indian Civil Service, should omit six of the Indian civilians who figure in Mr. Dewar's list from his *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, and three of their books even from the 'Bibliography' attached to his book. Yet one of these forgotten civilians wrote a very readable book of tales about India as long ago as 1834, and of two others whose books are mentioned, one wrote *Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian*, besides a book of *Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion*, and the other, in addition to his *Personal Adventures and Experiences of a Magistrate during the Mutiny*, published *Haunts and Hobbies of an Indian Official*—"a very readable book." Mr. Buckland also omits all reference to Knighton or his books.

Mr. Dewar's chapter on "Some Literary Ladies," with discriminating summaries of their various works describing social life in India, is even more attractive. The first of these ladies wrote her *Hartly House* in 1770, and Mrs. Fay's *Letters* appeared ten years later. The former has the distinction of being "perhaps the first book of travels on India ever written by a woman." But "it is distinctly disappointing, whether regarded from the literary or utilitarian standpoint." Mr. Dewar doubts whether in fact it was written by a woman, though its feminine authorship has been accepted. But Mrs. Fay's book "displays not a little humour, and is well worth perusal as a faithful account of social life in

Calcutta when Warren Hastings was Governor General." Of the seventeen literary ladies introduced to us, Mr. Buckland omits eleven from his *Biography*, and mentions in his "Bibliography" the books of three only; omitting from both Mrs. Maitland who wrote "one of the cleverest books in existence treating of English Indian Society"; Mrs. Postans, whose *Western India* is "a well written account of life in that part of the country"; Mrs. Ashmore whose book is "a chatty recital of her experiences, and interesting as giving some account of a regiment on the march;" as well as Mrs. Kindersley, the pioneer of such books.

Taking novels about India generally, Mr. Dewar gives the palm to *Peregrine Pultuney*, which appeared anonymously three quarters of a century ago, but is now known to have been written by Sir J. W. Kaye. He calls it "the best novel that has been written about life in India in the days of the Company," and "far more readable than nine out of ten modern novels." Needless to say, Mr. Buckland knows nothing of it.

Besides these more or less serious attempts to depict English life and society in India, there is a summary with extensive quotations from a sort of Anglo-Indian *Dr. Syntax*, called *The Life and Adventures of Shigrampo, Cadet in the Service of the Hon. East India Company on the Bengal Establishment, from the first dawning of his military mania to his retirement on the half pay of Lieutenant, after sixteen years' service in the hygiean climate of India*. It appeared in 1821, and its three hundred closely printed pages are the work of an anonymous author. It is a jocose book of verse, and in the flow of its easy versification reminds us of Captain Thomas Ajax Anderson of the 19th. Foot and his *Wanderer in Ceylon*; but as Mr. Dewar remarks, "the author...has left behind him a faithful description of life in India a century ago," while his account of voyage to India, *via* the Cape, which occupies one hundred pages, is perhaps the most detailed that exists." Neither *Hobson Jobson* nor Mr. Dewar enlightens us as to the origin of the name "Shigrampo"; in fact, in the opinion of the latter, the compilers of *Hobson Jobson* had never made the acquaintance of the book bearing that strange title. But the present reviewer has come across a clue, in the following sentence from Mrs. Heber's *Journal*, (Vol. 11, p. 152.) "Gigs and hackeries all go here (Colombo) by the generic name of bandy. The Calcutta *caranchie* and the Bombay *shigrum po* are both alike unknown."

These last two terms for vehicles of sorts are evidently "obsolete Anglo-Indian words" to which Mr. Dewar devotes

a chapter. He mentions among them two, which, though no longer current on the continent, are still in common use in the adjoining island, which must have inherited them from its big neighbour. These are "hackery", which Mrs. Heber seems to have supposed was unknown in Ceylon, and "goglet" which came to Ceylon with the Portuguese. 'Hackery' seems to be more likely of Indian origin, though some derive it too from Portuguese.

The rise of Naini Tal to its present position as a hill station is the theme of a chapter. It dates from 1843, eighteen years later than Nuwara Eliya, and its discovery and development were due not to civilians, military officers or the local government, but to Mr. Barron, a merchant of Shahjahanpur. Its existence as a very desirable but unoccupied site had been known twenty years earlier to the local Commissioner, but "it seems likely that he did his best to conceal its existence from all Europeans, knowing well that, once seen, it could not fail to be selected as a site for a hill station." For Mr. Trail (the Commissioner) and the Hon. F. J. Shore, also of the I.C.S., did not like the idea of an incursion of Europeans into their jurisdictions. In this idiosyncrasy the late Sir William Twynam was not unlike them.

The most vivid piece of descriptive writing in the book is "A Calcutta Dinner Party Early in the Nineteenth Century." We are taken right through it, from the arrival at "about six o'clock of the first guests, a captain of one of the King's regiments in uniform," followed by "a swan-necked post-chaise containing a barrister," to the rise and departure, fifteen minutes after the arrival of the men from the dinner table, of the rest of the ladies following that of the senior lady. The scene closes with the heartfelt thanksgiving of the host and hostess that the entertainment is over.

The illustrations are a great set-off to the book. Those by Sir Charles D'Oyly, late I.C.S., reproduced from his books, *The European in India* and *Tom Raw, the Griffin*, especially those of "A Newly Arrived Subaltern Being Introduced to his Colonel," and of "A Ball at Government House, Calcutta," which are animated and amusing. This D'Oyly family, by the by, which has given six baronets and many other members to the Indian services, belongs to a younger branch of the same stock from which came our Ceylon civilian and baronet, Sir John D'Oyly.

The book should be very useful in encouraging the general reader in England to become better acquainted with the mode of life, experiences and history of their "Anglo-Indian" fellow countrymen of Bygone Days in India.

The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

Published Quarterly.

Vol. IX. April, 1924. Part IV.

MR. WICKREMASINGHE AND THE DALADA PUJAVALIYA.

By H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

IN *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (Vol. II, part 5, p. 206), Mr. Wickremasinghe proposes the theory that Parákrama Báhu I. was crowned thrice, once in A.D. 1153, a second time in A.D. 1159, and again in A.D. 1161.

The date of the "second" coronation is based on the *Daladá Pújávaliya*, which, according to Mr. Wickremasinghe, "says that the 1254th year after the fifteenth year of Valagam Abhá was also the seventh year of Parakkama-Báhu's coronation. This gives 1702 A.B. expired or 1159 A.D. current."

The *Nikáya Saṅgraha* equates the year 1708 with the fourth year of the reign, in which year took place the Convocation for the reform of the Saṅgha. The figure 1708 is arrived at thus:—

From the death of the Buddha to the conversion of Ceylon, 236 years;

From the conversion to the 15th year of Valagam Abhá, 218 years;

And from the 15th year aforesaid to the 4th year of Parákrama Báhu, 1254 years.

On reading the statement attributed by Mr. Wickremasinghe to the *Daladá Pújávaliya*, there at once occurred to me the confusion, common in old manuscripts, between සහ and සහර, the 6

often falling out in careless copying, and I determined to verify the printed text (A) with the Colombo Museum manuscripts. The variants are :—

A. පුලන්තාභිධාන නම්වු නුවරෙහි ඉපද ක්‍රිසිංහලයට එකවරතු නන්වා අභිෂේක ප්‍රාප්තවූ සත්වෙනි අවුරුද්දෙහි තමන් හා සමානවරුන් පිරිවතු භූමි මහලුන්හා වතුරෙහි සේනාව යවා රුහුණු උදුරු කිරි අමරකිරි පව්න සම්පයෙහි සුරක්ෂිතකොට වසා තුඩු දළද පාත්‍රා බාතුන්වහන්සේ වඩා ගෙන වාගෙණ අබණ්ඩ ලක්ෂ්මී නිවාසවන තරම් බාතු මැරියක් කරවා එහි විසිතුරු වූ සිංහාසනයක් කරවා සමුසිත බවලානපතු විරාජන ඒ සිංහාසන මහතක සෙහි ශ්‍රී දන්තබාතුන්වහන්සේ වඩා ලංකා විපයෙහි දළද මල්වසෙහි යන නමින් ප්‍රසිද්ධකොට බොහෝ පුරාසන්නාර පැවැත්වූහ. තවද උදුරුකිරි නිවාසිත මහා කාශ්‍යප සථවිර ප්‍රමුඛ බහුල භික්ෂු සංඝයාට උපසංගමකොට වලගම්ආභා මහ රජු පවන් එක් වාදහස් දෙසිය සිවු පනස් අවුරුද්දක් හින්න නිකා ගතව වෛතුලා වාදිය සාගලිය වාදිය බම්මරු වි වාදිය යන වාද තුය ගෙණ හින්නවූ භික්ෂු ප්‍රති රූපක සාසන කණවක භික්ෂු සමුහයා ලතාමඛපය යට රැස්කරවමින් තුන්ම රාත්‍රියෙහි සිව්පියෙහි සිට නිකාය හෙද සංභිද්ධමෙන් සම්ඥ ශාසනය සුවිසුබ්‍ර කොට ලජ්ජන්වහන්සේට බලදී ශාසනාභිවෘද්ධියකොට

P 12. පුලන්තාභිධාන නම් නුවරෙහි ඉපද ක්‍රිසිංහලයට එකවරතු නන්වා අභිෂේක ප්‍රාප්තවූ සත්වෙනි අවුරුද්දෙහි තමා හා සමාන රාහවු පිරිවතු භූමි මහලෙකට වතු රෙහි සේනාව යවා රුහුණ උදුරු කිරි අමරකිරි පුර සම්පයෙහි සුරක්ෂිතකොට වඩා තුඩු දළද පාත්‍රා බාතුන්වහන්සේ වඩා ගෙනවාගෙන අබණ්ඩ ලක්ෂ්මී නිවා සන තරම් බාතුමැරියක් කරවා එහි විසිතුරු වූ සිංහාසනයක් කරවා සමුසිත බවලාන පතුසෙන් විරාජන ඒ සිංහාසන මහතකසෙහි ශ්‍රී දන්තබාතුන් වහන්සේ වඩා ලංකා විපයෙහි දළද මල්වසෙහි යන නමින් ප්‍රසිද්ධකොට බොහෝ පුරාසන්නාර පැවැත්වූහ. තවද උදුරුකිරි නිවාසිත මහා කාශ්‍යප සථවිර ප්‍රමුඛ බහුල භික්ෂු සංඝයා උපසංගමකොට වලගම්ආභා රජු පවන් එක් වාදහස් දෙසිය සිවු පනස් අවුරුද්දක් හින්න නිකාගතව වෛතුලා වාදිය සාගලිය වාදිය බම්මරු වි වාදිය යන වාදනතුය ගෙන හින්නවූ භික්ෂු ප්‍රතිරූපකවූ ශශණ කන්වක භික්ෂු සමුහයා ලතාමඛපය යට රැස්කරවමින් තුන්ම රාත්‍රියෙහි සිව්පියෙහි සිට නිකා හෙද සන්තිදීමෙන් සම්ඥ ශාසනය සුවිසුබ්‍රකොට ලජ්ජන්වහන්සේට බලය දී ශාසනාභිවෘද්ධිය කොට

AJ 12. පුලන්තාභිධාන නම්වු නුවරෙහි ඉපද ක්‍රිසිංහලයට එකවරතු නන්වා අභිෂේක ප්‍රාප්තවූ සතරවැනි අවුරුද්දෙහි තමන් හා සමානවරුන් පිරිවතු භූමි මහලුන්හා වතුරෙහි සේනාව යවා රුහුණු උදුරු

දෙර අමරකිරි නම් සම්පයෙහි සුරක්කිනකොට වඩා තිබූ දළදා පාත්‍රා බාහුන්වහන්සේ වඩා ගෞරවා අබඩ ලක්ෂ්මී නිවාස තුම් බාහුමැදිරියකකරවා විසි තුරු සිංහාසනයකකරවා සමුත්සිත බවලාන පත්‍රයෙන් විරාජිත සිංහාසන මහකයෙහි ශ්‍රී දන්ත බාහුසවහන්සේ වඩා ලබ්‍යාමිපයෙහි දළදා මළුවෙහි සන නමින් ප්‍රතිබ්‍යකොට බොහෝ පුරාසන්කාර පැවැත්තුනුයුත්තුවද දුෂ්කිරකිරි නිවාසි මහා කාශ්‍යප සාවිර ප්‍රමුඛ බහුල භික්ෂු සංඝයාට උපසම්මානකොට වලගම්බාහු මහ රජහු දවස් පවන් එක්වාදහස් දෙසිය සුපතස් අවුරුදුදක් භික්ෂු නිකායනව වෛතුලස් වාදිය සාගලී වාදිය බමරුචි වාදිය යන වාද තුනක් භික්ෂුවු භික්ෂු පුරුරුපිකවු ශාසන කණ්ඩ භික්ෂු සංඝයා ලනාමණ්ඩපයට රැස්කරවමින් තුන්සම් රාත්‍රියෙහි සිටිපියෙහි සිට නබා බොබ සන් කිදීමෙන් සම්පූර්ණ ශාසන සුවිසුබ්‍යකොට ලජ්ජාවහන්සේට බලදී ශාසනානිවාර්යකොට

"While [Parākrama Bāhu] was dwelling in the city of Pulasthi, in the fourth (seventh) year from the time when, having raised one canopy of dominion over Tri-Siṅhaḥa, he was anointed, he sent his fourfold army with the chief Secretary Pirivatu Bhūta,¹ his equal in birth, and having brought the Tooth and Bowl Relics, which were kept securely hidden in the neighbourhood of (the hill) Amaragiri at Udumbara in Ruhuna, made a Relic Hall like the perpetual dwelling place of Lakshmi and a decorated throne, and placed the fortunate Tooth Relic upon that throne, which was resplendent with a lofty white canopy. This he made famous in the Island of Lankā by the name of *Daladā maḥuva*, and maintained many offerings, honouring [the Relic].

"Further, looking to the wants of many priests with Mahā Kāśyapa Sthavira, who dwelt at Udumbaragiri, at their head, he caused to be assembled at the Laṭa-maṇḍapaya the multitude of priests, who were priests only in appearance and thorns to the Religion and who were parted among three sects, the Vaitulya, the Sāgalika, and the Dharmaruchi, divisions separated for 1254 years since (the days of the great) king Vaḷagam Abhā, and, by appeasing the differences of sect, standing in one place without moving his feet during the three watches of one night, completely purified the Religion of the Buddha, gave power to the well-conducted priests, and caused the Religion to flourish."

(1) I propose reading *භූතා* or rather *භූතා* for *භූතා*. Bhūtādhipikāri "who lived in the King's palace" actually was sent to Ruhuna in connection with Sugalā Dēvi's rebellion (M.A. LXXIV, 71). Bhūta Bhandāra Potthakī is mentioned in LXXII, 229. Possibly of this family was Bhandāra pote Pirivatu-bim Vijayānana, minister of Parākrama Bāhu I, whose wife was Sumedhā Dēvi (Müller, 158; J.R.A.S., Ceylon Branch, 1882, pp. 181, 182) the lady's title indicates royal blood.

The next paragraph deals with the Vaijayanta palace (*Mhv.* lxxiii. 61) and other buildings.

A and P 12 read සත්වෙනි "seventh," and AJ 12, සතරවැනි "fourth." The *Daḷadā Pūjāvaliya* ends with the reign of Parākrama Báhu IV. from about which period it dates. Now the *Nikāya Saṅgraha* appears to be indebted to the earlier work not only for the regnal year in question and the date of the Convocation, but also for certain other details, such as the list of officers and departments of State instituted by Parākrama Báhu I., and gives the regnal year as the fourth; it thus agrees with AJ 12, which, though in general not so good a text as A and P 12 and not infrequently omitting letters and even words, retains some ancient readings and here the longer form සතරවැනි. This reading, therefore, goes back to the end of the fourteenth century and may be presumed to be correct.

As has been said, the numbers "four" and "seven" are liable to confusion in Sinhalese olas. In the present case the spelling සතරවැනි as against සත්වෙනි is worthy of notice; the number of letters (counting the *kombuva* as one) are the same as in සත්වෙනි and it is possible that the mediæval ර has been misread by later copyists as ට. In view, therefore, of these considerations and of the antiquity of the reading "fourth," it seems somewhat rash to base an entirely new date, otherwise unsupported, on the lection සත්වෙනි, which, to say the least, must be regarded as possibly doubtful.

Much more serious, however, is the statement of Mr. Wickremasinghe quoted above, that the *Daḷadā Pūjāvaliya* equates the regnal year in question with the 1254th year after the fifteenth of Valagam Abhá. The reader with the text before him will be astonished to see that this work does nothing of the kind, but places in this regnal year the recovery of the Tooth Relic during the rebellion of Sugala Dévi.

It is true that the priestly author of the *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, whose interest lay in the history of the Saṅgha rather than in that of the Relic, has done the same as Mr. Wickremasinghe, just as he has taken the date of the completion of the *Pūjāvaliya*, that is, the 1854th year expired after the First Enlightenment or A.B. 1809, and apparently attached it to the Convocation under Parākrama Báhu II; but such methods are not those of modern

historical research, and the publication of the wholly misleading statement, which has elicited this note, calls for protest.

One good result of this unfortunate incident is the revelation of one of the sources utilized by the *Nikāya Saṅgraha*. The fourth regnal year of Parákrama Báhu I. must now be divorced from the Convocation of A.B. 1708, and we are left free to deal with the enigma of the eighteenth year assigned to this event in the Kalyāṇi inscription.

In conclusion, it may be observed that Mr. Wickremasinghe's theory of three coronations finds no support in the *Mahāvamsa*, and is directly contradicted therein. Parákrama Báhu was crowned once after the death of Gaja Báhu (*Mhv.* lxxi, 28), and after that of Mánabharana "held the ceremony of his *second* inauguration" (*ib.* lxxii, 362). The italics are mine. The account of the festival held on his succession as Mahádipáda (*ib.* lxvii) makes no mention of any *abhisheka*.



A NEW PERSIAN CROSS FROM TRAVANCORE.

By A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., M.R.A.S.,

(*Superintendent of Archaeology, Trivandrum*).

ALTHOUGH scholars are divided in their opinion as to the actual scene of St. Thomas' evangelistic labours in India, Christian Malabar steadfastly clings to the tradition that it was the apostle who propagated the Christian faith in the West Coast and founded seven churches there at¹ Cranganore, Niranam, Quilon, Palur, Kokkamangalam, Chayal and Kottakkayal, until his alleged martyrdom at St. Thomas' Mount, near modern Madras.

The important synchronistic link² furnished by the apocryphal *Acta Thomae*, which connects the apostle's name with the Indo-Parthian king, Gondophares (A.D. 20-60), has enabled some scholars to contend that St. Thomas' missionary activities were confined only to North-Western India; but the same authorities aver that, though there are no specific statements to postulate St. Thomas' visit to South India, there are also none which can be considered as definitely militating against the extant tradition, that the saint may have journeyed south by way of Socotra in A.D. 52³, perhaps on a second tour, and, finally, landing near Cranganore, made Malabar the field of his proselytising zeal.

Later day Malayalam versifiers have, however, in their enthusiasm, so far discarded scientific prudence as to make the anachronistic assertion that St. Thomas, who established the above-mentioned seven churches on the Malabar coast '*set up stone crosses*'¹ also for worship in them; and one such version, describing the favourite episode of the apostle's martyrdom at the Great Mount, has rounded off the narration by the detail that, when the saint was immersed in divine contemplation in front

1. Quoted in the *Mythic Society's Journal*, XIII p 778.

2. *The Indian Antiquary*, XXXII, p 151.

3. Vincent Smith's *History of India*, p 235.

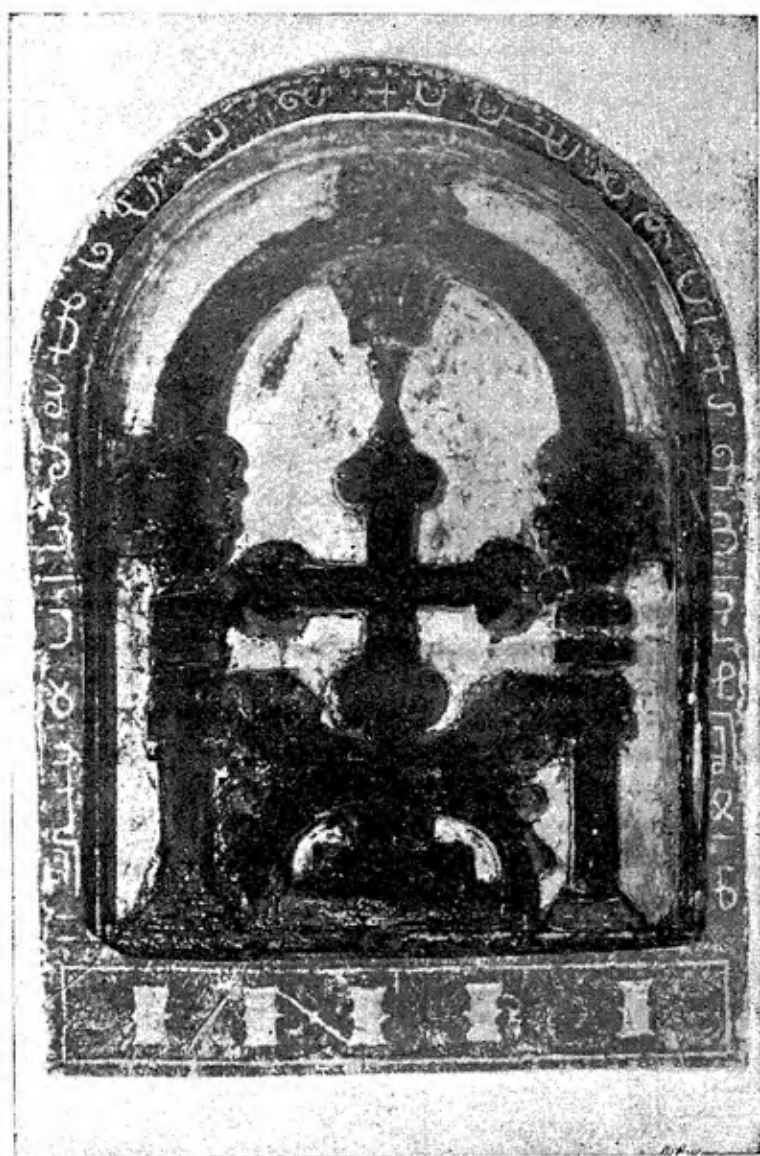


Photo by

Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

No. 1—Cross in the Church at Kadamuttam.



Prepared by

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

Cross in the Valiyapalli Church at Kottayam.

of a stone cross which he had himself set up there, some scheming brahmans of the place, who were jealous of the influence wielded by him with their Hindu king, stabbed the prospective martyr from behind. This alleged treachery is supposed to have been perpetrated in some place called variously as Kalamina, Kalamita, Kalamena and Karamena⁴ which has, on the basis of a philological quibble, been taken to refer to Mailapur, a suburb of Madras.

Although, on the strength of the facts that it was only in the reign of Emperor Constantine⁵ (A.D. 307-37) that the Cross came to be popularised as a symbol of Christian salvation and that representations of crosses are not found in the Roman catacombs earlier than the 4th century A.D., and that Buddha, another great universal teacher, came to be deified in iconographic form only three or four centuries after his death, the correctness of the above architectural detail that stone crosses came to be fixed up in front of churches so early as the second half of the first century A.D. may be seriously called in question, the antiquity of the Malabar church is, according to the late Dr. Vincent Smith, "traceable with a high degree of probability to the third century A.D.,"⁶ even leaving out of consideration the tradition of a personal connection of the apostle with the beginnings of Christianity in that Coast.

Be that as it may and the testimony of literature and the sometimes dressed-up accounts of mere tradition apart, the only ancient *sculptural* relics that had till now been discovered in South India and that had provoked a keen interest in archaeologists and scholars were the three altar crosses bearing an almost identical Sassanian-Pahlavi inscription, namely, the one which was discovered by the Portuguese on the St. Thomas' Mount in A.D. 1547 and was fixed up by them in that church, and the other two which are supposed to have been brought from an old ruined church at Cranganore, and are now found set up in the wall to the right and left of the entrance into the sanctum of the St. Gabriel's church (Valiyapalli) at Kottayam, in the Travancore State. Drs. Burnell, Haug and West, eminent Pahlavi scholars, have tried to decipher the record with varying degrees of success, and their contributions to the cause of Epigraphy are to be found in the

4. *Ind. Ant.* XXXIII, p 148.

5. *Encycl. Britt.*, VII, p 506.

6. *History of India*, p 235.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, and the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV.*

Another bas-relief cross with a Pahlavi inscription, whose existence was brought to my notice by Rev. M. Petros of Tripunitura, was recently photographed by me and its discovery partly confirms the hope expressed by the late Drs. Burnell and Haug that "many more Pahlavi inscriptions may still exist, not only in Travancore but in other parts of India," and that "their discovery would prove an interesting linguistic and historic acquisition." This tablet, measuring about 30" x 20," is found embedded in the

7. The readings and translations of these scholars are as follow :—

Dr. Burnell—(*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III) :—

1. Yn rjyā mñ vn drd-i dnmn

2. Mñ amn meshā af alhā-i mñm af red-i aj asar bokht :

In punishment by the cross (was) the suffering of this one : He who (is) the true Christ, and god above and guide ever pure.

Dr. Haug :—

(He) who believes in the Messiah and in God on high and also in the Holy Ghost is in (redeemed through) the grace of Him who bore the pain of the Cross.

Dr. West.—(*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV.) :—

(a) 1. Mñ amn meshkhā-i avakhshā-i madam-afās aj khārbukht

2. stldā-i mñ van va dard-i denman :

What freed the true Messiah, the forgiving, the upraising, from hardships ? The crucifixion from the tree and the anguish of this.

(b) 1. Mñ ham-leh Meshkhā-i avakhshā-i madam-afās-ich khār būktō

2. sūr-zay mñ bun dardo dēna :

(He) whom the suffering of the selfsame Messiah, the forgiving and upraising, (has) saved (is) offering the plea whose origin (was) the agony of this."

Prof. Harlez—(*Sir J. J. Madrasa Jubilee Volume*, 1914, kindly lent me by Dr. J. J. Modi B.A., Ph. D., C.I.E.) :—

1. Mñ amn meshā-i avakhshā-i madam-afās aj asar bōkht

2. yn razyā mñ van dard-i denman :

He who (is) the true Messiah, the reconciler, the resuscitator, for ever purified (sanctified) by virtue of his crucifixion (or, of that crucifixion which one sees here).

Mr. Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana—(*ibid*) :—

(a) 1. Rish-razyā mñ van dard denā

2. Mñ hemn Meshhā āpakshā-i madam afās-i Chahār-bōkht :

"Such (was) the affliction of the wounding and spearing of him on the Cross, who (was) the faithful Meshhā, a forgiver, of superior dignity, the descendant of Chahār-bōkht.

(b) 1. (As above)

2. Mñ hemn Meshhā āpakshā-i madam-Abrāhim-i Chahār-bōkht :

This (was) the affliction of the spearing and wounding of him on the Cross, who (was) the faithful Meshhā, the merciful one, the descendant of the great Abraham, (who was) the descendant of Chahār-bōkht.

(c) 1. Mñ hemn Meshhā āpakshā-i madam afāsi-i Chahār-bōkht

2. rish-razyā mñ van dard denā :

He of whom the faithful Meshhā (was) the forgiver (was) highly exalted ; he (was) redeemed from the four (regions of Hell) ; this (was due to) the affliction of the spearing and wounding of (Meshhā) on the Cross.

(d) 1. (As above.)

2. Rasūl-leh yet mñ van dard denā :

* * * * * This (was) the affliction on the Cross even of the messenger of Jehovah.

The readings of certain Brahmins who are reported to have hoodwinked the Portuguese and of Fr. Borthey of Trichinopoly (*Indian Athenaeum* for August 1923) who considers the language of the record to be Tamil, may be left out of account.

south wall of the sanctum in the Jacobite-Syrian church at Kadamuttam, a village six miles to the west of Muvattupula, a taluk-centre in the Travancore State, and about forty miles from Kottayam where the other two better-known crosses are preserved; but my informants were unable to give me any interesting details as to whether this cross had been kept in the church from a very long time, or whether it was brought down from some other place and fixed up in its present position.

The church, which is picturesquely situated on the top of a small hillock, does not claim any antiquity, epigraphical or architectural, except for the presence of this Persian cross. This new cross resembles the St. Thomas' Mount cross, and the bigger Kottayam cross in its sculptural details, i.e., it is a Greek type with *fleur-de-lis* extremities, is equal-armed and stands on a pedestal of three steps. It is flanked by two detached pilasters of the same type as that of the other two examples, and on the capitals of these are also found two couchant *makaras* or fish-monsters, facing each other and supporting, with their gaping mouths, a semi-circular belt (*prabhavali*) arching above the cross. The outer rim of this arch is represented as ornamentally curving out in two hooks on either side of some central flower-and-bead cluster.

In the place occupied by a down-turned dove with outspread wings (symbolising the Holy Ghost) and shown as pecking at the top of the upper limb of the cross, we have in the Kadamuttam specimen a somewhat curiously shaped object which resembles a crown or a bishop's mitre or, worse still, a shuttle-cock; but as these have no symbolical significance, we have to take this object also to be an extremely crude representation of a dove, whose extended wings have the outlines of two inturned rose leaves, whose body and tail are inartistically sculptured as five straight feather-tipped strands, and whose head and beak, looking like a turnip, are with some difficulty recognisable as parts of a bird's anatomy.

On either side of the lower limb of the cross are the same floral devices branching out upwards in conventional curls, and below these a semicircular triple band envelopes the steps in a rainbow-like arch. Five shallow oblong niche-like depressions have been crudely picked out for the sake of ornament on the plain pedestal below this calvary of three steps, and some later (Roman Catholic ?) enthusiast has managed to shape them into the formula—*I.N.R.I.*—

(*Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum*). The portion containing the Pahlavi writing is a narrow ribbon of stone which springs at either extremity of this base and, going up straight to a height of about 15", curves round in a semi-circular arch of 9" radius, enveloping the top of the cross and its halo-circle.

The inscription upon this cross seemed to consist of three short sentences separated by two + (cross) marks. Of these the portion running down the (proper) left limb from one such mark at the top corner appeared to be identical with the shorter sentence found in the same position in all the other three crosses, both at Kottayam and the Mount; but the remaining portion appeared to be different and to consist of two sentences marked off by the other dividing + symbol. Sculpturally considered, this cross at Kaḍamuttam seemed to be a later copy of the one at St. Thomas' Mount; but as only Pahlavi scholars can pronounce an authoritative opinion on its probable age after a careful consideration of the script employed in the record, a good photograph of this cross and its inscription was forwarded to the eminent Pahlavi scholar, Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., of Bombay, whose indefatigable researches in the field of ancient history are so well-known. This gentleman has managed to find time, amidst his multifarious duties, to examine this Pahlavi writing and has kindly furnished me with the following reading and translation :

Text.

1. *Le zibah vai min Ninav val denman.*
2. *Napist Mar Shapur.*
3. *Le (mun) ahrob Mashiah avakhshāhi az khār bokht.*

Translation.

" *I, a beautiful bird from Nineveh, (have come) to this (country)*
Written Mar Shapur.

I, whom holy Messiah, the forgiver, freed from thorn (affliction)."

One important feature in Dr. Modi's reading of the short sentence, apparently common to all the four crosses, is the reference to the 'bird'—*vai*,—(Skt. *vi* and Latin *avis*, as he has himself explained); and this is in appropriate agreement with the sculptured detail of a dove hovering, as a symbol of the Holy Ghost, over the top of the upper limb of all these crosses. Another point

of greater historical value is "the reading in the middle short sentence of a proper noun as Mar Shapur. This part of the inscription is mutilated; but I think it is the name Mar Shapur referred to by Dr. Burnell in his paper."

If accepted, this reading will furnish an important dated landmark: and if this Mar Shapur or Mar Saphores, who, together with Mar Prodh or Peroz or Peroses, is said to have landed in Quilon in about 825 A.D., to have erected churches, to have preached the Christian religion under the patronage of the tolerant Hindu kings of the West Coast, and to have been in these parts till about A.D. 880,⁸ can be considered identical with Maruvān Sāpir Isō who has been prominently mentioned in the Kottayam copper-plate charter of the time of King Sthānu-Ravi (c. A.D. 870-900), the date of erection of this cross becomes definitely computable as the end of the 9th century of the Christian era, i.e., about two centuries and a quarter later than the earlier Kottayam and St. Thomas' Mount crosses, which have been attributed to about the middle of the 7th century; and it also becomes possible that the other bigger cross of Kottayam with the additional Syriac text may have been elaborated a century or so later on the model of the Kaḍamuṭṭam sample.

We know from the Kottayam plates that Maruvān Sāpir Isō, more probably an ecclesiastical dignitary who had headed a colony of immigrant Christian merchants to the West Coast towards the second quarter of the 9th century A.D. than a secular merchant himself, erected a church called the Tarisāppalli at Kurakkēni-Kollam or the modern Quilon, and obtained from the then ruling king certain privileges to his community, and certain gifts of land for the upkeep of the church. As the word Tarissa is mentioned as having been applied to the Nestorians in China and Tartary,⁹ and as the occurrence of the word Ninav or Nineveh, as read by Dr. J. J. Modi in the Kaḍamuṭṭam cross, also points to the geographical locality of its inspiration, it appears not unlikely—at any rate the temptation is too great to be set aside—that this cross was possibly the one designed for, and that had originally been set up in, the altar of

8. Hough's *History of Christianity*, Vol I, p 107.

Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, II, 1275 quoted in *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. II, p 144
Logan's *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p 266, where the identity has been suggested.

9. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p 78.

the Tarisāppalli by Maruvān Sapir Isō, and that at a later date, after some vicissitudes among which the interpolated incision of the four letters *I.N.R.I.* on the pedestal of the cross may have been one, it drifted into the Kaḍamuṭṭam church¹⁰ owing to causes not ascertainable at this distance of time.

In a paper contributed to the *Indian Athenaeum* for August 1923, Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., of Darjeeling, has made the following observations on the symbolism of the sculptural details employed in the ornamentation of these crosses and their canopying arches.

"Immediately above the dove of the Kottayam cross there is a semi-circle in relief dotted with little balls or beads, the central ball above the tail of the dove being larger than the rest. On each side and a little above the horizontal beam of the cross this border of balls (fifteen contiguous balls on each side) falls into the mouth of a dolphin-like monster, easily recognisable by his snout and his fish tail.

"A word may be said here about the symbolism of the dolphins. Its meanings mostly that of the fish in Christian art. Arthur S. Barnes, writing in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, New York (s.v. dolphin, V 100 b), says :— 'The particular idea is that of swiftness and celerity symbolising the desire with which Christians, who are thus represented as being sharers in the nature of Christ, the true Fish, should seek after the knowledge of Christ. Hence the representation is generally of two dolphins tending towards the sacred monogram or some other emblem of Christ.....Speaking generally, the dolphin is the symbol of the individual Christian rather than of Christ himself.'

"If that be so, the string of pearls on the St. Thomas' Mount cross and on the Kottayam cross (No. 1) might typify the pearls of great price which the dolphins of the faithful Christians eagerly covet. In the famous Christian stele of Si-ngan-fu, China (A.D. 781), two monsters (lions ?) hold up with one of their forepaws a small casket containing the pearl of the Christian Law."

In this connection, the following remarks may be added on the analogy and significance of the same motifs in Hindu religious art which have evidently furnished the St. Thomas' Mount, the Kottayam and the Kaḍamuṭṭam crosses, their sculptural setting.

Dévas (Skt. *Div.* = 'to shine,') or gods were conceived as bright, luminous beings, and the idea of phosphorescent light emanating from them was sought to be expressed in early sculptures by the addition of plain circular discs called '*siraschakras*' to the back of the heads of images. In course of time these

10. C. M. Augur, in his *Church History of Travancore*, p. 36, says that the foreign Christians taught the black art to a priest of the Kadamattam family and that this proficiency continued in that family for a long time. This shows that Kadamattam was connected with the foreign priests from a very long time, and it is not impossible that its Persian Cross was its own.

material nimbuses were decorated with intricate floral and creeper designs, and thus came to lose some of their original intrinsic significance. Further on, with the conventionalisation of iconographic art and owing, perhaps, also to the inconvenience of representing a disc just behind an image's head, the modern detached aureole, called the *prabhāvalī* or 'the lustrous circle,' was evolved and conventional clusters of flames were also appended at intervals to the outer rim of this arching belt, to accentuate the idea of radiating light. With the decadence of the original simplicity of conception and with the elaboration of sculptural details achieved by individual artists, each extremity of this arch came to be represented as starting from the mouth of a *makara* or fish-monster, the vehicle of the purifying goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā who are generally found flanking the entrance into temples. The *makara-torana* is another instance in point.

Although one cannot be sure whether the significance attached to *makaras*, namely, that they are 'symbolical of fertility and good luck' or of 'the water or Cosmic ocean from which the sun rose and into which the sun sank at eventide,' was actually meant to be expressed in art language by and at the time of the introduction of this aquatic creature in Indian sculpture, or whether, as is more probable, the conventional outline of its curious tail, rich in varied volutes and intersecting spirals, simply supplied a convenient artistic expedient for finishing off the blunt extremities of the canopy, this fish-dragon is found to figure in sculptures as early as the second century B.C.¹².

In the present instances also, the cross—a reverent symbol of adoration to the Christians—was religiously canopied by an arc of halo whose extremities disappear into the gaping mouths of two *makaras* of purely Hindu design. The pellets, or round balls lining the middle of the belt, are mere ornamental adjuncts to beautify the plain band of the arch—a golden arc being set with precious stones in variegated profusion—and are otherwise innocent of the ingenious significance suggested in the above extract.

The pillars supporting the halo-circle are of the indigenous type and are no more specifically Persepolitan than similar pillars found in abundance in any medieval South Indian temple of Siva or Vishnu. They have the usual components of a short shaft,

11. Havell's *Indian Architecture*, p. 82.

12. *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 84.

surmounted by the *kalasa* (the water-pot), the *kanṭha* (the neck) and the *kumbha* (the torus); and above all is the upturned *dātura* or the white trumpet-shaped flower, which, together with its thorny berry, has furnished a popular model for the *pushpapōdika* or cross-brackets of capitals.

It can thus be postulated that all three crosses at St. Thomas' Mount, Kottayam, and at Kadamuttam were probably designed by Indian sculptors who were permeated with Hindu architectural traditions, and that the Pahlavi inscriptions were also engraved by them under instructions received from their foreign Christian employers, while the earlier 'lancet-arch-type' of cross at Kottayam may also have been Indian work, though executed in a simpler design. As noted by Dr. J. J. Modi, the handicap of having to copy an unintelligible record in a strange script, and in the cramped space furnished by a narrow arching ribbon of stone may partly account for the existence of the slight differences in calligraphy, except in cases where the letters are completely dissimilar, which even then appear almost identical to an uninitiated eye. That the sculptural background of the three crosses is consciously Hindu in character is undeniable, and in their familiar setting these crosses did naturally evoke a readier acceptance from the converts, recent or otherwise, for whose adoration they were perhaps consecrated at that time.

Thus the discovery of the Kadamuttam cross in the Travancore State is likely to prove of great importance to the History of Christianity in the West Coast.



COLOMBO PLACE NAMES.

By J. C. VAN SANDEN.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fact that the etymology of place names has at one period or another aroused the interest of a great many of our local antiquarians, it is indeed a matter for surprise how comparatively little has been written so far in regard to the origin and history of Colombo itself and its place names. Every sound has had some definite meaning originally,¹ but in the process of time most of these names have gone through a kind of transformation which has tended to obscure the first meaning.

It is possible that this accounts, in some measure, for the scant attention that has been paid to some of the quaint designations one comes across in different parts of the metropolitan town of the Island. In the case of the maritime districts of Ceylon, the tides of advancing and receding invaders have not failed to leave their impress on place names. The concomitant diversity in language and nomenclature has therefore contributed to intensify difficulties for the inquiring mind. There is, however, the local tradition which occasionally serves as a sort of clue to the true origin, but, more often than not, such traditions leave the impression that they have been invented in order to account for the name.

Colombo.

Several sojourners in the island have in their writings ventured explanations with regard to the name of the principal town, and as many have been content to repeat the theory of some previous writer. As regards Colombo itself, the most popular version would appear to be that of that eminent writer, Tennent. This popularity is enhanced and given an air of authority and finality from the circumstance that Tennent's explanation of the origin of the name "*Colombo*" is quoted time after time in the successive editions of the *Ceylon Manual*, which latter, it must be stated, is not an official publication, although it is edited and published by Government.

1. Col. Branfl, quoted by Lewis in "Place Names of Wannl," *Journal of R.A.S. Ceylon Branch*.

Tennent gives *Kalantotte*, the ferry of the *Kalan* or *Kelani* River, as the earliest known name of Colombo. To the Sinhalese, who were never a sea-faring people, it is surprising that an insignificant hamlet like *Kalantotte* was known at all. But one cannot lose sight of the fact that the *Kelani* was a most important river, if only because it led to the famous Buddhist Temple at *Kelaniya* and the ancient Sinhalese capital of *Sitawaka* or *Awisawella*, thus investing its banks from source to estuary with a certain degree of romance.

This name *Kalantotte*, the Arabian traveller *Ibn Batuta* about the year 1343 refers to as *Kalambu*, "the finest and largest City in Serendib."² *Kalambu* in turn gave place to *Kolambu* or *Columbu* which the Portuguese have rendered Colombo—its present form.

It is said that in ancient Sinhalese literature, *Colamba* or *Kalamba* signified a seaport, but it is difficult to reconcile this derivation with the existence of a village named *Kolambagama*, which is in the Kurunegala district, many miles from the sea, as the crow flies. This situation of *Kolambagama*, therefore, knocks the bottom out of the sea-port theory. There is, however, a *Colombogam*, which is the abbreviated form of *Colombogama*, a maritime village in the Jaffna Peninsula. Although in the heart of a Tamil speaking country, there is no doubt that the name is of Sinhalese origin, like *Waligamam*, since there is no dearth of evidence that this part of Ceylon was for many years, centuries ago, under Sinhalese rule.

It is remarkable that even in the more Tamilized form, *Colombuturai*, the suffix *turai* means a sea-port or landing place, as in *Kankesanturai*, *Sambilturai*, *Paragaturai*.

According to *Sirr*, "tradition declares that *Colamba*³ derived its name from a grove of mango trees," and the explanation of *Adrian Reland*, the great Orientalist, is on all fours with this version. In his treatise on the affinity of the Sinhalese, Malay and Malabar languages, *Reland* conjectures thus; "*Cola*, 'leaf,' hence the tree *Colamba* and the city commonly called *Columbo*."

If not the most fantastic, easily the most clumsy, guess at the

2. *Ibn Batuta in the Maldives & Ceylon*, translated from the French of Defremery and Sanguinnetti, by Albert Gray, R.A.S. *Journal*, 1882, Extra number.

3. Sinh: *Cola*, "leaf," *amba* "mango."

4. Note 41, "A Belgian Physician's notes on Ceylon in 1687-89," translated by Donald Ferguson, *Journal of the R.A.S. Ceylon Branch*, Vol. X. No. 35, 1887.

origin of the name *Colombo*, is that given by the Belgian physician and traveller, Daalmans,⁴ who states with much assurance that Ceylon was discovered by "Christoffel" Columbus, an "Italien," whence the chief town bears the name of the celebrated discoverer and navigator.

Pettah.

Of the names of the different parts of Colombo, the best known is Pettah—due to a great extent to its importance as the Ceylonese business centre. In regard to this name, Tennent, again with characteristic perspicacity, traces the derivation from the Tamil word *pettai*, "the extra-mural suburb of a fortress or town." The Sinhalese word *pita*, meaning "without, outside," bears a remarkable similarity to *pettai* both etymologically and phonetically. Not many miles from Pettah is *Pita Kotte*, "outer fort," and *Etul Kotte*, "inner fort," in the immediate neighbourhood of Kotte, the capital of Bhuvaneka Bahu. This capital was also known as Cotta, which the errant Daalmans writes "*Cotton*."

That the derivation of Pettah is from the Tamil word *pettai*, is supported by the existence of Pettahs in Jaffna, Batticaloa and Trincomalee,—all Tamil districts. More than this, the situations of these pettahs in relation to the forts of the three towns mentioned are identical with Pettah and Fort, in Colombo. Again, in the Tamil district of Madras in South India, one comes across such names as *Seringapet*, *Sowcarpet* and *Chinglepet*, also spelled *Chingleput*. The suffix *pet* in these names is one in meaning with *pettai*, of which the former is an abbreviated, Angloised form.

During the Portuguese and Dutch times and even in the early British period, the Pettah was regarded as essentially an outer fort or the first line of defence. It was here that the burghers of the Dutch, *Oost Vereenigde Compagnie* and the British East India Company lived and carried on their business as merchants and traders. Only the governors, military officers and a few privileged individuals were permitted by the Dutch to reside within the Fort, which was separated from Pettah by a vast swamp called *Buffels Veldt* and which extended from the present Front Street, Pettah, to the north gate of the Fort. This gate was situated on the site where the Fort Police Station now stands. Across the swamp was a narrow, slightly elevated road which connected Fort and Pettah. The road led across the Fort Canal or moat and over the draw-bridge into the Castle. The existence of this swamp

must have been of no inconsiderable strategic value, since it would have impeded the free advance of a besieging army and hindered the transport of heavy battering rams.

The outer-fort or Pettah comprised all that area that was bounded on the south by the swamp referred to above, on the east by the Beira Lake, on the west by the Colombo roadstead, and on the north by a little stream which connected Beira with the sea. The course of this stream lay *via* St. John's Road and past the present Town Hall along Gas Works Street, so that, like the Fort, Pettah too was an island. Within the Pettah itself are such names as Bankshall Street, Maliban Street and Norris Road, all of which are not without their individual romances. Just as all and sundry were not allowed to live in the Fort, so also Pettah in its own way was considered the preserve of the few, and not till 1832, during the regime of Governor Wilmot Horton, were the Moors and Tamils permitted to buy property or go into residence in this part of the City.

Kayman's Gate.

At the Northern boundary of Pettah, the gate which opened out to the road which leads to Negombo—and for that reason was also known as the Negombo Gate,—was Kayman's Gate—another name which has evoked its share of speculation. Many seem to think that the name perpetuates the memory of some distinguished individual but not one seems to be able to say who the great Kayman was.

The Dutch name for this place, *Kaymans' Poort*, which designation it is given in the old time maps, does not assist the inquirer to any appreciable extent, since *Kayman* or *Cayman* is not a purely orthodox Dutch word. Donald Ferguson⁵ is certain that it is an American (?) word, meaning "crocodile," and that it seems to have been used generally by the Dutch in the East in former days. In support of this meaning Ferguson cites *Hobson-Jobson*. *Kaymans' Poort*, therefore, stands for "Crocodiles' Gate," and when the topography of the neighbourhood as it was in the Dutch period is known, it is not a difficult matter to trace the reason for the name.

It was stated above that the northern boundary of Pettah was St. John's River and, since the Negombo Gate was situated on this boundary, it must have been

5. *Ibid.*

in the immediate vicinity of the river, which latter, according to Daalmans, was infested with *Kaimans* or crocodiles, hence "Crocodiles Gate." The existence of these amphibious creatures in the river in those days is not to be wondered at, since one or two of them have been shot in the Beira Lake⁶ from time to time, even as recently as thirty or forty years ago. The river, it must be remembered, was connected with the lake, and what is more probable than that these predatory animals occasionally took a "stroll" in the direction of the Pettah to pay a visit to the poultry yards of the pioneer *Mynheer*.

In its day Kaymans' Gate was an important point in the defences of Colombo. An armed sentry was placed here and the gates were closed at a certain hour every night. It marked the northernmost extremity of fortified Colombo, and, during the time of the Sinhalese kings, when an embassy to the hills set out, it was accompanied with music and military honours as far as this gate. So also when the Kandyan king's official messengers visited the Governor of Colombo, the former on the day of their departure were accorded the usual military compliments as they passed through this gate. The changing of the guard here on special occasions must, in those days of gorgeous and picturesque military uniforms, have drawn small crowds of spectators from the Chetties' quarters and Moors' quarters.

Thombe⁷ makes frequent mention of Kaymans' Gate in his narration of the Capitulation of Colombo to the British in the year 1796. He says:—

"At the same moment the enemy debouched on the road and vigorously attacked the troops of these two Captains, who were driven back, and obliged to retire to Kayman's gate (*la porte des Caymans*),...."

"Captain Légrevisse received orders at midday to retire with his detachment into the Fort, and the remainder of the troops received a like order successively. Kayman's gate was then closed, and a Malay guard placed there."

And, "on February 14, at 1 p.m., Major Agnew, an officer of the enemy's army, came with a flag of truce to Kayman's gate."

(To be Continued).

6. See Ferguson's *Ceylon Directory*, Chronological Table of Events.

7. "Collection of notes on the attack & defence of Colombo, in the Island of Ceylon," translated from the French of Mons: de la Thombe by Col. A. B. Fyers, R.E. *Journal of the R.A.S. C.B.*, Vol: X. No. 37, 1888.

THE FIRST PORTUGUESE INSCRIPTION IN CEYLON.

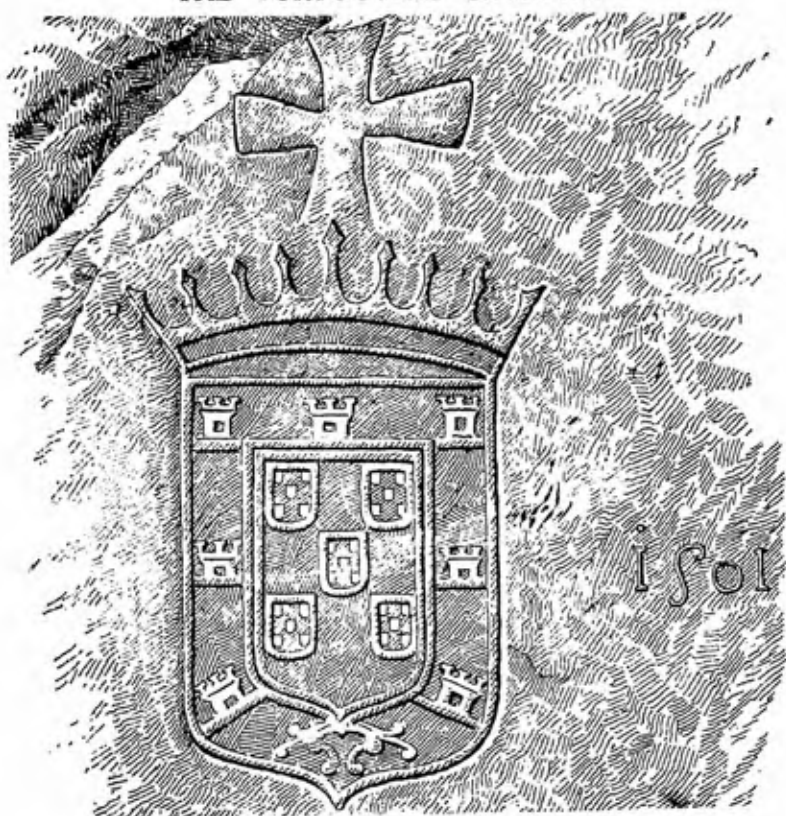
By S. G. P.

THE first and the most interesting of extant Portuguese inscriptions is the curious bit of engraving on the Portuguese boulder now in the Gordon Gardens. This boulder was discovered on 5th September, 1898, by a party of coolies engaged in demolishing "the old building at the root of the breakwater which for years did duty as headquarters of the Harbour Police." The *Ceylon Independent* of 7th September, 1898, thus described the find: "One of the large rocks at the bottom of the building was found to have carved on it an excellently executed Portuguese Coat-of-arms, looking no older than a month, with the date 1501, rudely but quite legibly, carved to the right of it." After mentioning the discovery also of "a few human mouldy bones" in the vicinity, the scribe went on to say: "There is little doubt that the coolies are just now excavating about the grave of some Portuguese grandee of the beginning of the sixteenth century, to mark whose resting place the stone was placed by with the Coat-of-arms carved on it. Nothing beyond bones have been found at the spot, and the Portuguese Coat-of-arms with the date on it is the only but sufficiently acceptable evidence that the grave belongs to one of this Island's Portuguese conquerors."

This paragraph caught the eye of Mgr. Zaleski, the Papal Delegate then in Ceylon. Just a few months before this Mgr. Zaleski had obtained from Rio de Janeiro a copy of the *Conquista* of Father Queyroz, and from the description of Father Queyroz he promptly identified it as the "Coat-of-arms of Portugal carved on a rock at the entrance of the Colombo harbour" by Don Lourenco de Almeida in 1505. Accordingly on that very day, 7th September, 1898, Mgr Zaleski addressed a letter to the Governor pointing out the Archaeological interest of the discovery.

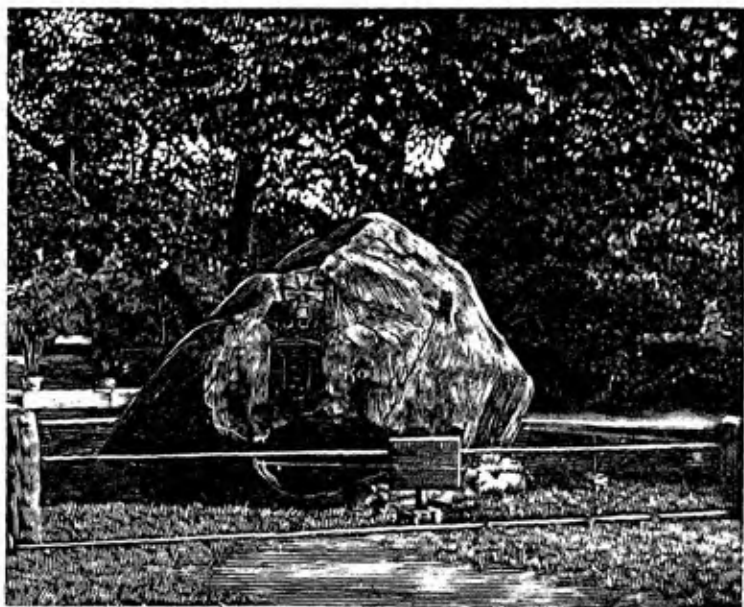
The Governor referred the letter to the Director of the Museum, who in turn consulted the leading students of history such as

THE PORTUGUESE BOULDER.



The Portuguese Coat-of-Arms.

IN THE GORDON GARDENS.



This boulder, which is now in the Gordon Gardens, was removed thither from its original site opposite the ancient Portuguese Church of St. Lourenco, which stood near the present Battenburg Battery.

D. W. Ferguson, F. H. de Vos and A. E. Buultjens and published the correspondence in the *Journal* of the Ceylon Asiatic Society (XVI. pp. 15-28.) The stone remained, *in situ*, more or less "near the Wharf Railway Station, between the road leading to the Customs main gate and the back of the Customs yard".¹ In 1912 that site was deemed unsuitable and the boulder, weighing not less than 25 tons, was removed bodily to its present site in the Gordon Gardens where, as the Colonial Secretary expressed it, "it would still face what may be supposed to have been the landing place of those by whom the inscription was cut".²

Though it was thus taken for granted that it was the engraving made by the first Portuguese visitors to the island, it must be said to the credit of the critical spirit of the scholars above named that they did not pronounce definitely on the point. Mgr. Zaleski, indeed, quoted a line of Queyroz in support of his contention, but Queyroz was an unknown name at the time and carried no weight. And what about the figures 1501 carved by the side of the escutocheon? There was the rub. Ferguson concluded his note with all the emphasis of italics: "*I think I can assert with absolute confidence that Lourenco de Almeida's envoys were the very first Portuguese who ever set foot in the island. The matter is too lengthy to be dismissed in a note like the present, but I have abundant authority to prove my statement; the date on the boulder is, therefore, impossible.*"³

I propose to show in this article that Donald Ferguson and Mgr. Zaleski were both right; in that (1) there is no reason to doubt that the Portuguese boulder is the identical *padram* set up by Lourenco de Almeida and (2) on the other hand that there is no reason to suppose that the figures 1501 have anything to do with the original inscription.

I.

All the Portuguese chronicles say that a *padram* was erected in Ceylon. The word *padram*, it must be pointed out, because of past misconception, is etymologically the same word as the English *patron*, which is the older Middle English spelling of the modern *pattern*. By a *Padram* was meant the painting or engraving on a

(1) *Journal* XXII. p 303.

(2) *Ib.*

(3) *J.* XVI. 27.

shield, the 'pattern' or 'escutcheon.' Whence the stone column bearing the royal arms of Portugal, which the Portuguese navigators carried with them in their voyages of discovery, was called a *padram*. From this circumstance any inscription came to be called a *padram*. Therefore, when the ancient chronicles speak of a *padram*, one must not jump to the conclusion that it is a post or pillar though the Portuguese *padroes* were generally on columns.

The following are the principal references to the erection of a *padram* in Ceylon :

Says Joaõ de Barros : (Dec. 1, Bk X, ch. V.)

E per meio delles fez vir alguma gente da terra, per cujo aprazimento metteo hum Padrão de pedra em hum penedo, e nelle mandou esculpir humas letras como elle chegára alli, e descubria aquella Ilha ; e Gonçalo Gonçalves, que era o pedreiro da obra, però que não fosse Hercoles pera se gloriar dos Padrões de seu descobrimento, eram estes em parte de tanto louvor, que poz o seu nome ao pé delle, e assim fica Gonçalo Gonçalves mais verdadeiramente por pedreiro daquella columna, do que Hercoles he auctor de muitas, que lhe os Gregos dao em suas escrituras.....

And by their (Moors) means he (Don Lourenco) got together some of the people of the country, with whose approval he erected a stone *padram* on a rock and upon it ordered to be cut some letters saying how he had arrived there, and had discovered that island ; and Goncalo Goncalvez who was the stone cutter that did the work, though he was not a Hercules to boast of the *padroes* of his discovery, because these were in a place of such renown, put his name at the foot of it ; and so Goncalo Goncalvez remains more truly the stone cutter of that pillar than Hercules is the author of many that the Greeks attribute to him in their writings.".....

E porque Nuno Vaz Pereira com o tempo rijo, que os fez alevantar, quebrou a verga grande do seu navio, foi necessario tornar outra vez ao porto, onde achou que o nosso Padrão estava já chamuscado do fogo, como que lho puzeram ao pé.

"And because Nuno Vaz Pereira, through the rough weather that had forced them to leave, broke the mainyard of his ship, he found it necessary to return once more to the port where he found that our *padram* was already blackened by fire, as if they had lighted one at the foot of it."

(Mandou) Nuno Va Pereira
em a não Sancto espirito
 á Ilha Ceilao pera a trazer, o
 qual....levava Regimento do
 Viso Rey, que não movesse
 guerra per razão da paz, que
 seu filho D. Lourenço tinha assen-
 tado, de que estava per testem-
 unha o Padrão que deixou
 posto em o lugar de Columbo,
 que Nuno Vaz vio.

E em quanto se carregava
 mandou ele meter na praya
 per consentimêto del rey hu
 padrão de pedra com as armas
 de Portugal dhum cabo, e a
 divisa da Sphere do outro.
 E isto em sinal que aquela
 terra estava ã paz cõ os Portu-
 gueses.

E Dom Lourenço, recolhendo
 a canella e os dous alifantes,
 ordenou de partir e mandou
 dizer a ElRey, que aly no porto
 lhe queria deixar posto sinal,
 pera lembrança da paz que
 era assentada. Do que ElRey
 muyto folgou, dizendo que fol-
 garia que posesse muytos sinaes
 que durassem pera sempre.

Então Dom Lourenço foy a
 terra, e sobre huma ponta da
 terra, que estava sobre a baya,
 assentou huma columna de pedra
 com os escudos, das armas, como
 ja atrás declarey; e sendo o
 marmore alevantado, e posto

Again (Dec. 11. Bk. III. ch I).
 "Nuno Vaz Pereira (was sent
 in 1508) in the ship Santo
 Spirito to the Island of Ceylon
 to bring (cinnamon).....he
 bore an order from the viceroy
 that he should not levy war
 by reason of the peace that
 his son Don Lourenco had
 agreed to, the witness of which
 was the *padram* that he left
 standing in the town of Colombo
 which Nuno Vaz saw."

Castanheda: (Bk. ch. 23) "And
 whilst he (Don Lourenco) was
 loading (cinnamon) he ordered
 to put up on the shore by consent
 of the king a *padrao* of stone
 with the arms of Portugal at
 one end and the device of the
 sphere at the other; and this
 in token that the country was
 at peace with the Portuguese."

Correa: (Lendas I. 654.) "Then
 Don Lourenco, taking the cin-
 namon and the two elephants,
 prepared to depart, and sent
 word to the king that he wished
 to leave behind at that port a
 memorial set up in remembrance
 of the peace that had been agreed
 to. At which the king was much
 pleased, saying that he would
 be glad if he erected many
 memorials which would last
 for ever.

Then Don Lourenco went
 on shore and on a point
 of land, which stood above the
 bay, he erected a column of
 stone with the escutcheon of
 arms such as I have already
 described,* and when the mar-

(6) Quoted below.

em seu lugar, Dom Lourenço, em geolhos fez oração a Cruz, que nella estava, e se tornou a recolher.

De Ceylão tenho já enformado Vossa Alteza per homens que lá forão, e estes que agora de la vierão assy acharão a terra, assentada, e. o padrao em pe, como o pôs meu filho.

Dandolhe o tempo se partio de Galle e veo entrar no porto de Columbo, que é o principal do trato, onde sobre a ponta da baya que faz o porto estava posto o padrao das armas que ally pusera dom Lourenço, quando assentou este porto, como já contey na lenda de dom Francisco d'Almeida primeyro Visorey, o qual os mouros tinhao quebrado.

D. Lorenzo....satisfazose,a.... con plantar en ub puntã con plantar un Padron de piedra, con inscripcion de su. llegada alli.

ble had been raised and put in its place Don Lourenco on his knees offered a prayer to the cross that was on it and then retired."

Again Correa gives (I. 917) a letter of Francisco de Almeida dated 20 November, 1508, in the course of which Almeida says: "Of Ceylon I have already informed Your Highness through men who have been there, and those who have recently come thence have found the country quiet, and the *padrao* standing as my son erected it."

Again (II. 540) under date 1518 Correa says:

"The weather permitting he (Lopo Souza de Albergaria) left Galle and succeeded in entering the port of Colombo, which is the principal one of that region where, on the point of the bay, which forms the port, was placed the *padrao* with the coat of arms which Don Lourenco erected there when he came to this port, as I have already related in the history of the first Viceroy Don Francisco d' Almeida which the Moors had destroyed."

Faria y Souza: (Tom. I. Pt. I. ch. 10). "Don Lourenco....contented himself.....with planting on a point a padram of stone with an inscription about his arrival there."

Summary of a letter of D. Francisco de Almeida : 27th December, 1506.

"The Cross of Christos and the Royal Arms and the Device have been left in Ceylon on a *padram*."⁴

"The discovery of Taprobane; and how the ships arrive and set up the *padram*" was the subject of one of the paintings that King D. Manoel commanded to be made.⁵

(4) *Precis* of letter received by the King, given in *Cartas de Alfonso de Albuquerque II.*, 391. (J. XIX 338.)

(5) Quoted by Ferguson, J. XIX. 346.

The description of the *padram* given by these authors may be summarised in tabular form as follows.—

Author.	Town.	Site.	Description of Engraving.	
Barros	(Galle)	on a rock	"some letters saying how he had arrived"	"cut by Goncalo Goncalvez," "who put his name at the foot"
Castanheda	Colombo	—	—	—
	(Gabaliquagama, which our people call Galle)	stone	Arms of Portugal on one side and the Device of the Sphere on the other.	—
Correa	Columbo	point of land above the bay	"columns of stone" with "escutcheon of arms" and "cross"	"marble" "raised" and "put in position"
	"	point of bay which forms the port	Coat of Arms	"standing" "erected"
Faria y Souza	"	point	inscription about arrival	—
Almeida	Ceylon	—	Cross of Christos Royal Arms and device	—

- (1) Though Barros and Castanheda imply that the *padram* was erected in Galle, the former subsequently contradicts it and states it was in Colombo, and Castanheda's assertion is negligible in view of the consensus of other testimonies.
- (2) The various indications of the site are not mutually exclusive. It was "on a rock," on "a point of land," "above the port." All these expressions may be used to indicate one and the same place, and the place in which the boulder was discovered corresponds to the description.
- (3) Beyond this there are discrepancies: Barros speaks of an inscription, "some letters saying how he had arrived," and says that "Goncalo Goncalvez put his name at the foot." Souza likewise speaks of "an inscription about his arrival."
- (4) Castanheda says that it was a two-faced (column). Correa speaks of "raising" and "putting in position," and "standing," which also imply a column. He calls it a "marble,"

Most of these writers seemed to have thought that the *padram* erected in Colombo was one of those columns which Portuguese navigators carried with them for this purpose. Such a *padram* is described by Correa as: "A column of white marble with its pedestal and capital which bore upon it the escutcheon of the Quinas⁷ with the crown, and on the other side another escutcheon on which was the Sphere, and at the foot letters gilt in the stone and cut within, which said 'King Manoel' These the King had ordered to be made, and had commanded the captains to set them up in the countries where they established friendship, that the remembrance of it might last for ever, and that they might be seen by all the nations that might come later."⁸

In spite of all these statements Father Fernão de Queyroz, who says he has read all the books published in his time and who has disregarded the statements of many of these writers, because he considered himself better informed, and who speaks not only of this *padram* but also of other *padroes* set up in Ceylon by the Chinese, of which no other writer had ever spoken but which was discovered in Ceylon after the *Conquista* was brought to Ceylon, says (*Conquista* p. 142.)

<p>Mandou abrir em hua rocha, de fronte de Bahia, as Quinas de Portugal; memoria posto que gastado do tempo, q semper no nosso, ali permancéo. No mmo sitio, levantou hua pequena Ermida, da invocação, de S. Lourenco, q, ficou dando o nome. áqle monte, e junto dela a Feytoria, sê pr então tratar de outra fortificacao.</p>	<p>(Don Lourenco) ordered to be engraved on a rock in front of the bay the Quinas⁷ of Portugal, a memorial which though worn out by time ever remained there in our (time). On the same place he erected a small Hermitage under the invocation of S. Lourenço which gave its name to that mound; and by its side a Factory without thinking of any further fortification for the nonce.</p>
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Thus, according to Father Queyroz, the *padram* was

- (1) Engraved on a rock.

(7) "Quinas" literally means The Cinques or Fives (Lat *quint*), referring to the five points in the shield. As *Quinas Portuguezas* was the usual term for the Portuguese Coat-of-Arms.

(8) *Lendas* 1 bb & 559.

- (2) The engraving consisted of the Quinas or Coat-of-Arms of Portugal.
- (3) The *padram* was still standing at the end of the Portuguese period.
- (4) By the side of the *padram*-rock stood the chapel of St. Lawrence.

The Portuguese boulder now in the Gordon Gardens corresponds exactly to this description. It does not correspond to the descriptions of the other chroniclers. Father Queyroz was aware of some of the other descriptions, but he is not repeating what others said.

The verification of 1, 2 and 3 is manifest. The fourth point is fortunately verified by another discovery, made in the same way, near the same place, sixty years previously. This earlier discovery of the second oldest Portuguese inscription was thus described in the *Ceylon Observer* of 11th November, 1836 :

"As the men employed by the Engineer Department were engaged in some repairs at the outworks of Battenburgh Bastion, a few days since, and when clearing away some accumulated rubbish and remains of old buildings, they discovered, at about two feet below the surface, a large flat stone, on which is the annexed Portuguese inscription exactly 300 years old. This monumental stone was found to cover a small vault in which were some mouldering human bones."⁹ This inscription is the epitaph of the first vicar of the church of S. Lourenco, who was buried in the clergy house attached to the Church. According to the reading and translation of that indefatigable and scholarly D. W. Ferguson, it reads as follows :—

'Here lies Luiz (?) Monteiro de Setuval, the first confirmed vicar and primate in this island of Ceylon who edified this island with churches and Christians and built S. Lourenco and this house with the help of faithful Christians and his own.

Awaiting the great judgment
I lie here in this abode
From toilsome life
Retiring.

and from the great labours and dishonours of Ceylon in the year 1536.¹⁰

(9) C.L.R. I. 8.

(10) J. XVIII 364-5.

This stone placed over the grave of Monteiro in the house of S. Lourenco' was found not far from the boulder, and its discovery confirms the statement of Queyroz that the *padram* stood hard by the chapel of S. Lourenco.

There is thus little room for doubt that the present Portuguese boulder is the identical *padram* that Queyroz is speaking of as set by up Don Lourenço; and the boulder in its turn is a standing proof of the accuracy of Father Queyroz.

II.

The figures 1501 are a stumbling block. It was taken for granted that they formed part of the original inscription.

A. E. Buultjens advanced the conjecture that Goncalo Goncalves deliberately engraved the date of the first *discovery* of Ceylon, not the date of Don Lourenco's visit, meaning by the 'date of discovery' the date when Ceylon first became known to the Portuguese.¹¹ But apart from the fact that the word 'discovery' was not used in that sense by the Portuguese, it is quite certain that they knew of Ceylon before 1501.

J. P. Lewis on the other hand was so impressed by this date that he was prepared to throw written records overboard in favour of this date "on stone." "If this date," he wrote in 1917,¹² "does not agree with the historical records not on stone but on paper, so much the worse for such historical records: or to put it less epigrammatically but more clearly, we must abandon our notions derived entirely from the later and allow them, as regards the date of the first landing in Ceylon of a Portuguese, to be corrected by the former. I can see no reason why a Portuguese should not have landed at Colombo in 1501, even though there was no written record of it to be found."

Mr. J. Ryan accordingly made an ingenious speculation as to who could have been "voluntarily left behind, deserted or marooned" for the purpose of explaining that date.¹³ He was undeterred by the solemn assertion of Donald Ferguson, 'the profoundest student of Portuguese history,' that Don Lourenco was absolutely the first Portuguese to set foot in Ceylon.'

(11) J. XVI. 25.

(12) C.A. & L.B. II. 221.

(13) *Ib.*

These writers all suppose that the figures 1501, or whatever they are, were part of the original inscription. But (1) they are unquestionably of a different *workmanship* from the rest of the inscription. The Coat-of-arms is neatly and excellently engraved by a master hand, while the awkward and clumsy figures are manifestly the work of an unskilled and inexperienced workman. The surface of the rock has been smoothed and plained for the Coat-of-arms, while the figures are on an irregular, uneven, and rough surface. *cf. Plate.* This alone would be enough to rule out of court the suggestion that it was done by the same person.

(2) The fact that no writer mentions a date is worthy of consideration. Neither Queyroz nor any other mentions a date as having been inscribed. It is, moreover, not the practice of the Portuguese to inscribe dates. No date occurs in a strikingly similar *padram* engraved on a rock in Central Africa above Matadi on the Congo River with an inscription.¹⁴ No date is mentioned as inscribed in the *padram* set up in Mombasa.¹⁵ In the King's instructions on setting up *padrams*, there is no mention of a date. A *padram* was not meant to commemorate a date. Dates, moreover, were never a strong point with the Portuguese.

Thus there is no reason to suppose that the figures are the work of the hand that carved the Coat-of-arms, or that a date was carved at all on that occasion. There is no reason to suppose that the figures 1501, if figures they are, form part of the original inscription. The bare fact that the figures occur by the side of the escutcheon is not a sufficient reason for us to suppose that it is the date of the escutcheon, or has anything to do with it, or to disregard written records on the strength of such a supposition.

Both the date and the cross are probably the work of a later hand and Mr. J. Harward rightly thought: "It was absolutely clear that the cross above the royal arms was by a different hand from the carving of the Royal arms and date. Perhaps the date had nothing to do with the coat-of-arms which it adjoined and might possibly have been the fancy work of somebody who carved on the rock, perhaps long after the coat-of-arms was made."

(14) A photograph of the "Portuguese Rock" is given in the *Times Educational Supplement*, 18 August, 1923.

(15) *Correa*, I. 559.

SINHALESE AND THE ARYAN LANGUAGES.

A Rejoinder to Mr. M. H. Kantawala, C.C.S.

By GATE MUDALIYAR W. F. GUNAWARDHANA.

(Continued from Vol. IX, Part III, Page 165.

The Noun and the Verb.

To come now to the Noun and the Verb.

(1). In the Aryan, as reflected both in the Vēdic and in Sanskrit, the noun and the verb had three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural. In this respect it agrees with Greek, within the family, and with Arabic outside. But what happens when this language, the Aryan, goes out among the native masses of India and becomes the vernacular of the provinces? The provincial grammar was Dravidian, and it is plain that, though the incoming Aryan could disseminate itself to the extent of words which could be caught by the ear, the principles of Aryan grammar would be quite a different matter; they were intellectual, and to grasp and assimilate them required systematic and scientific study; and this among the masses was out of the question.

Now the masses constituted the bulk of the population of every province; and hence in every province, as may be easily conceived, the spread of Aryan as the vernacular was, to a very considerable extent, superficial. The masses may here and there have caught what principles of Aryan grammar they could; but, on the whole, they used the new language by the principles of grammar to which alone they were accustomed, to wit, by the rules of Dravidian grammar. Now in Aryan, as we have said, the noun had, in addition to the two ordinary numbers, a dual number. In Dravidian such a thing is unknown. What do we find in the Aryan vernaculars including Pāli? We find the dual number conspicuous by its absence. What does it shew? It shews that the Aryan dual number had been killed out by the Dravidian impact, and that in this matter of number, one of the

most important in the use of language, the Aryan vernaculars are governed by the principles of Dravidian grammar.

(2). In Aryan, the difference between the accusative and the dative cases, both in declension and in syntactical usage, is very wide. In Tamil, their difference in declension is no less wide, but in syntactical usage the favourite case as between the two is the dative, this figuring in many a connection where in Aryan the accusative should appear. And this Dravidian preference for the dative not only finds full play in the Aryan Vernaculars syntactically, but in some of them it has even supplanted the form of the accusative case declensionally. This scarcely requires exemplification since it is a prominent feature in our standard of comparison, Hindī, among others, where the accusative case inflectionally has no independent form but that of the dative.

(3). *a.* In Aryan, the pronoun is the same for all manner of persons high or low. *Tvam*, 'thou,' is the same for menial, for social equal, or for king. If marked respect is intended to be shewn in addressing, the word *bhavat* (masc. sing. *bhavān*, fem. *bhavati*), "the meritorious one," may be used in the third person. The genius of the Dravidian languages in regard to this matter is different; there the important ethical factor is the pronoun, which acts as the index of respect, and has to be in the plural number subjectively, objectively, or both ways, according as respect is intended for the person addressing, or addressed, or both.

Thus, in Tamil, if a person speaks of himself in the singular number, he is simply assuming no importance; if he speaks of another in the singular, he is either speaking of an inferior, or using language of contempt; while if he uses the plural in respect of himself, or of the person spoken to, or of the person spoken of, he is, in each case, throwing into the speech the proper amount of importance to befit the dignity of the person or persons receiving such courteous reference. In the Aryan Vernaculars, it is this Dravidian principle that prevails. In them not only has this principle taken deep root, but it even shews a more luxuriant growth.

Thus in some of these languages, we see pronouns of inferiority, and pronouns of superiority, in addition to the usual pronouns of equality, with tone and nasality thrown in according as high respect is claimed or paid, as we often observe when Indians

speak. (See the pronoun in Carey's *Bengali Grammar*, and compare Forbes, *Bengal Grammar*, 1862, pp. 33 and 35). The principle is said to be much in evidence in Konkāni and very common, in fact, in almost all the Vernaculars. The principle, which is Tamil, is faithfully reflected in Hindi. Thus Kellogg (*Gr.* 2nd ed. p. 431).—

“But when it is intended to shew respect, the pronoun is put in the plural, even when referring to a singular noun.”

In Tamil, very high respect is shewn to a person that is being addressed if he is referred to by the reflexive pronoun, *tāngal* (“they themselves”). Here the high respect is conveyed not by the plural (which is not essential though higher than the singular,)¹ but by this particular pronoun, and we find the principle reflected in the Aryan Vernaculars. Its prevalence is very wide in the family, and in Bengali it is thus spoken of (Forbes, *Gr.* p. 39) :—

“When great respect and deference are intended in speaking of another, or in addressing one who is present, the word *āpani* (“self”) is used, and will then mean “your,” or “his honour,” “your,” or “her ladyship,” or any similarly respectful form of address, according to the rank of the person who is intended to be designated.”

(3) *b.* In Aryan a suffix is a suffix, each as elegant as another, and all performing but one function—that of shewing the relation of a word to another or to others in the sentence. In Tamil a suffix sometimes has the additional power of conveying respect or the reverse; and it may also be elegant or otherwise. While therefore function is common to both Aryan and Dravidian, the spirit of quality in a suffix is entirely Dravidian. Now hear what Hoernle has to say on the quality of some suffixes pervading almost all the Aryan Vernaculars of India (*Comp. Gr.* p. 100) :—

“All these suffixes are, generally speaking, very commonly employed. The sixth set, however, is very vulgar. As a rule, they change in no way the meaning of the word. Occasionally, those of the fourth and sixth sets may imply contempt or affection or smallness, and those of the second and third sets the comparative degree.”

(4). In Aryan the declension of nouns is a complex system, being different for vowel-finals and consonant-finals, and consonant-finals again having not less than three bases to operate upon in the same noun, each for a different part of the declension. Moreover, the terminal suffixes are different for the singular, the dual, and the plural. In Tamil, there is but one base to a noun with a variation

1. Caldwell 3rd ed. p. 397.

for the plural, and but one set of terminal suffixes for both numbers. In the Aryan Vernaculars, the Dravidian system and Dravidian simplicity prevails, the other having been killed out in a Dravidian atmosphere.

(5). Aryan never had anything approaching to *kā*, *kī*, *kē*, or *kō* as a casual suffix to a noun or pronoun. On the other hand, all Dravidian languages have *ku* (of which the essential element is 'k') or some slight variation of it, as the terminal suffix of the dative case; and in most languages of the Hindī group, the same 'k' plays an important part in supplying the terminal suffixes for the dative, the only inflected form of the accusative, and the genitive case. (Kellogg, *Gr.* "Declension of nouns").

Now from the very fact that this 'k' supplies the essential element of the dative suffix in Dravidian, and the essential element of the dative suffix in these Vernaculars, there is at once ground for presumption that it is part of the old Dravidian web running through this new Aryan warp and holding it in texture. But that is not all. When the inflected accusative in which it appears is examined in syntactical relation, we often find, and with verbs of motion always, that it is the exact equivalent of the same case occurring in the same relation in Tamil. Thus Hindī *gharko calo* ("to the house go"), where *gharko* is theoretically in the accusative case after Sanskrit, is the exact equivalent of the Tamil *viṭṭuku* (*p*) *pō*, where *viṭṭuku* is in the dative case as marking the point to which motion is directed.

Again we have the adverbial expression *rātkō*, "at night," which is theoretically in the accusative case (Kellogg, *Gr.* 2nd ed. p. 101), and which, strangely enough, is the equivalent of the Tamil *irāvukku*, which is in the dative case. Examples can be multiplied *ad libitum*. I do not say that every inflected accusative in these languages answers to a Tamil dative, nor do I say that the genitive ending in *kā*, *kī*, *kē*, or *kō* always finds its equivalent in the dative in the corresponding Tamil sentence; but I do say the presumption becomes very strong (and unless and until very convincing reasons can be shewn to the contrary that presumption is entitled to stand) that these suffixes turning on the element 'k' are all developments from the Dravidian suffix 'ku' ever territorially present and more than holding its own, where the Aryan Vernaculars were in evolution.

I am aware that, when this view was first put forward by Caldwell in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, he had not long to wait before finding himself in difficulties arising from two counter theories advanced, each with equal shew of authority, by Trumpp and Beames, the one in his *Sindhi Grammar*, the other in his *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*. Both these scholars challenged Caldwell standing on Aryan ground, and the latter, finding himself between two fires where none had been expected, believed his position insecure, and in his second edition withdrew from a position so precarious as he thought, the Aryan claim being virtually conceded. Thereby the question was closed in so far as it related to the Dravidian origin of these suffixes.

But though Caldwell was thus driven into surrender by an unexpected cross-fire and the question thus closed, it does not seem to me that in the interest of science the closure can be regarded as final. In the first place, the fire of the Aryan champions carried no effective missiles as will be presently seen; in the second place, they (the above two and yet another) claimed each on a separate title adverse to the others, shewing that they cannot all be right, and that all may be wrong. This I now proceed to shew.

Trumpp.

Of the first two opponents of Caldwell, Trumpp and Beames, the title presented by the first is thus summarised by Caldwell:—

“Dr. Trumpp, in his *Sindhi Grammar*, derives the Sindhi *khê* and the Bengali *kê* from the Sanskrit locative *krtê*, ‘for the sake of, in regard to.’ This form became in Prakrit first *kîtê*, then *kiê*. It was then contracted into *kê*, which, in Sindhi, by reason of the elided *r*, becomes *khê*. He derives the Hindî and the Hindustani form of this postposition, *kô*, by a similar process from the Sanskrit *krtam* which is used adverbially with the same signification as the locative *krtê*. In Prakrit, and still more in the modern dialects, the neuter is changed into the masculine. In accordance with this rule, we have first *kito*, then *kio*, and then the more modern contracted from *ko*. He thinks *kôm* and *kaum* formed from *ko* by the addition of an euphonious *anusvara*, to which the modern tongues have taken a great fancy. Dr. Trumpp argues also that the fact that the Aryan Vernaculars, which border immediately on the Dravidian idioms, have not adopted the use of *ko* as a sign of the dative, shows that it is improbable that the dialects more to the north have been indebted for this form to the Dravidian idioms.”

Here, with due respect to the great eminence of Dr. Trumpp's name, I have to point out that he has started upon his argument

with two initial fallacies operating on his mind. First, his point of view with regard to the relative position of Aryan and Dravidian speech out in the provinces geographically is strangely incorrect. He seems to think that the vernaculars in question are not provincial evolutions, but only decayed and decaying forms of Aryan speech brought wholesale into provinces by Aryan populations and still running their course with many additions and acquisitions indeed *en route*, but still the current retaining its identity the same. Sir George Grierson's point of view, which seems to us far more reasonable, and in keeping with actual observation of modern times, is the reverse of this. He says (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new ed. 1907, Vol. i. pp. 351-2) :—

“Where an Aryan tongue comes into contact with an uncivilized aboriginal one, it is invariably the latter which goes to the wall. The Aryan does not attempt to speak it, and the necessities of intercourse compel the aborigine to use a broken ‘pigeon’ form of the language of a superior civilization.”

So, that was the process which led to the making of these vernaculars, and every provincial vernacular developed on a ‘pigeon’ which used Aryan phraseology made to turn on a Dravidian basis. It does not mean that the Dravidian basis was in every instance coincident in character or co-extensive in its amplitude with its proximity or otherwise to a present Dravidian sphere or “idiom”; and there is nothing antecedently improbable in some vernaculars of Northern India shewing Dravidian affinities which may or may not be present in those bordering immediately on “Dravidian idioms” of the present day.

Secondly, with regard to the Sanskrit *krtam* which, according to Dr. Trumpp, turns out by a process of physical evolution as the accusative and dative suffix *ko*. Unfortunately the eminent Doctor does not tell us what *krtam* meant in Sanskrit. We have therefore to depend upon our own knowledge of it. According to our knowledge, it is the neuter singular of *krta*, the perfect participle of the verb *kr*, “to do,” and radically it means “actum” as an adjective. It had also an idiomatic adverbial use in which it meant “done !” or “enough !”, “that will do,” etc. Now, in which of these senses it could have forced its way into the position of an accusative suffix, let alone a dative, it is difficult to understand. In Latin “I saw a boy” will be *Vidi puerum*; but to believe any such usage creeping into a Romance language as *Vidi puerum actum* requires a stretch of imagination far out of the

ordinary. And in the plural number, *Vidi pueros actum* beats all possible powers of imagination even to the most extraordinarily versatile. In the same way, *satis verborum* will be Latin for "enough of words"; but to say *satis verborum actum*, even as leading to an analytical process, is certainly indefinable and absurd.

It would thus seem that the evolution of *kō* from *krtam* is antecedently improbable. But that is not the only objection to the claim. *Krtam* consists of two parts, the stem and the terminal suffix of the nominative singular (*kṛta*+*am* or *m*). The argument of Trumpp is that, by phonetic decay and consequent readjustment, the stem becomes *ki(y)a*, which is true enough; but he goes further, and with regard to the suffix he claims that, with the change of gender of the word from neuter into the masculine (since there is no neuter in the modern Prakrits), the neuter suffix *am* changes into *o*, to suit the new gender. Herein he postulates too much. There is no doubt that occasionally a Sanskrit neuter noun in *am* may find its derivative in modern Prakrits in *o*; but that only illustrates the exception, while the rule is quite otherwise. By the rule, the neuter suffix simply disappears, thus leaving the stem of the noun perfectly fit to appear in its own form in the masculine gender. Thus we have *nagar* (city), *van* (forest), *jal* (water), *ghar* (house), etc., from Sanskrit nouns of the neuter gender, ending in the nominative singular 'm' *am* (*nagaram*, *vanam*, etc.). The general rule, therefore, will not support the assumption of Trumpp that *krtam* became *kiō*, to pass through other changes into *kō*. The assumption rests upon mere speculation, and speculation, it is plain, is no basis for scientific theories.

With regard to the evolution of *kē* from the Sanskrit *kṛtē*, the Doctor's position is not so palpably absurd, though bad enough. He says that *kṛtē* is the locative singular of *kṛta* ('done') in Sanskrit. It is no doubt a possible explanation of the word-form if no better is forthcoming for the adverbial sense in which he takes it. In that sense—in the sense, that is, of 'for,' 'on behalf of' etc.,—*kṛtē* appears with better reason as the dative singular of *kṛt* (participial adjective from the same root *kr*, 'to do'), a fact which even Monier Williams has missed in his *Dictionary*. The word appears in this sense, and by collocation clearly in the dative case, in the opening chapter of the great *Ars Poetica* of

Mammata (the *Kāvya Prakāśa*), in the line *kāvyaṃ yaśasē 'ritha-krtē*, 'a poem is for the sake of fame, for the sake of wealth' ('*artha-krtē*'). This is more apposite for Doctor Trumpp's theory, and I mention it both in fairness to him, and to correct an error which seems to be more or less prevalent.

From the illustration quoted, it is undeniable that *krtē* was used to serve the same purpose as any sign of the dative case whether suffix or postposition, and to that extent had a good right to usurp the place of the dative suffix in analytical language. But how came the usurpation to be effected? That was only possible if the word or particle was largely used by the people, and so much so as to be a rival in popularity, and gradually the superceder, of the regular suffix. In that case, the process must have begun at an early date, and left a regular trace all along in the literature. Looking at the matter from this standpoint, what do we find? We find that in Sanskrit, *krtē*, in the sense here relevant, is a very occasional word, occurring in higher literature and seldom found in easy prose works of popular stories etc., which are nearer to the language of the people.

Among Prakrits, it is not present in any form in the earliest Pāli lexicon (the *Abhidhānap Padīpikā* of Ceylon), showing how little it was known, if known at all, in the Prakrit of that stage, the nearest we have to Aryan. I have before me as I write the Alphabetical Index of all the words occurring in the *Karpura Masiṃari*, a drama in the Prakrit of a later stage, and in the whole of that work not once does the supposed derivative of *krtē* occur either as *kite*, or *kiē*, or *kē*. The evolution from *krtē*, therefore, which ought to have been far more observable higher up the stream, is contradicted by strong negative evidence, while, on the positive side, it rests on no evidence at all.

If the original vocable was non-Aryan and yet with a strong lodgment in popular speech, it's not figuring in early standard literature stands accounted for. For, in the early stages, Dravidian elements, where obvious, would necessarily have been excluded from standard literature, and it would be only with lapse of time and the slow operation of phonetic influence that these word-forms would lose their alien appearance and become fully recognized as part of the regular stock of these vernaculars. It is after this stage is reached that they will begin to appear in litera-

ture, and, if of Dravidian origin, their thus coming to the front, apparently from nowhere, stands self-explained.

Beames.

We shall now turn our attention to Beames. This eminent scholar, whose monumental work on *Modern Aryan Languages of India* cannot too much command our admiration, seems to have combined in a strange way one idiosyncrasy at least with his great talents; and, though by some mysterious piece of good luck, he classed Sinhalese as a Dravidian language, not apparently knowing what he was about, he would be far from indulgent if anyone had the temerity to suggest that the Aryan Vernaculars (of which, by the way, Sinhalese is one) are in any way indebted to Dravidian for anything in their structural constitution, worth mentioning. When Caldwell first pointed out the strong family resemblance of the postpositions we are discussing to the dative suffix *ku* of Tamil and its different variations in the Dravidian family, this is what he had to say and how he said it:—

“In the above remarks all that has been done is to show how great is the *a priori* improbability of the theory that the structure of the modern Aryan tongues is in any great degree due to non-Aryan influence. It has been said languages borrow words but never grammar. The methods of expressing ideas seem to be inborn and ingrained into races, and seem rarely to be varied, whatever be the materials employed, so that even resemblances should be shunned as dangerous, and must, unless supported by historical or other proofs, be set down in the majority of cases as accidental.” Now comes the relevant part:—

“To take an instance, a great deal has been made, or tried to be made, of the resemblance between the sign of the dative in Tamil, *ku* (*kku*), and that of the Hindī, *ko*, and Dr. Caldwell in particular seems to have gone quite wild on the subject (see pp. 225-227 of his *Grammar*); but laying aside all the Dravidian, Scythian, Ostiak, Russian, Malay, and all the rest of the jumble of analogies, it is demonstrable from actual written documents that the modern Hindi *ko* is a pure accusative or objective, and was in old Hindi *kau*, which is the usual and regular form of the Sanskrit *kam*, the accusative of nouns in *kah*; so that there does not appear to be the slightest reason for connecting it with anything but the cognate forms in its own group of languages.”

“For the reasons above given, I am of opinion that there is nothing in the structural phenomena of the modern Aryan vernaculars which may not, by a fair application of reasonable analogies, be deduced from the older languages of the same stock; and, though not prepared to deny the presence of non-Aryan elements in those languages, I do strenuously deny that they have had any hand in the formation of the analytical system which the Aryan tongues

at present exhibit." (*Comparative Grammar*, Vol. i. pp. 47-48).

The great writer, in spite of his superlative confidence which so much impresses us and is the main-spring of his 'strenuous' advocacy, with the irrefutable evidence of written documents behind him, yet leaves one thing unexplained—the one thing essential for carrying conviction, viz. how it was that Sanskrit nouns ending in *kah*, declined for the accusative singular, transmitted part of their body with the inflexional addendum as a tail, not only as the suffix or the postposition for the accusative singular of all nouns whether ending in *kah* or otherwise, but also as the postposition for two entirely different cases, the dative *par excellence*, and the genitive in the singular, and, what is far more incomprehensible, as the postposition for all these three cases in the plural? To an unbiassed mind only one thing could be patent—that, with all his contempt for Dr. Caldwell's wild delight at alighting upon a mare's nest, Beames' own theory is good enough only if intended to meet a case in circumstances of despair. And indeed, later on, Beames himself, who, as we have seen, writes so confidently and in such a strain, goes back upon his words, which is a surprise to us and a curious commentary on the character of this Aryan claim. In matters of rooted belief, any basis is good enough, and, if that is rotten, any other, and so on *ad infinitum*.

Hoernle.

Before two such virile opponents, however, each fighting on ground where he was apparently sure of his own footing, Caldwell gracefully retired, not taking into account the fact that his two adversaries were themselves inimical to one another. Presently the ground was contested by a third, Dr. Hoernle, who also preferred the Aryan claim, but in opposition to each of the other two champions, of whom Trumpp was specially smashed. His contention, to state it briefly, was that the Sanskrit *kaksē* was the *fons et origo* of the suffixes in question (*ko* and the rest), and the theory he builds is a monument of probability, conjecture, surmise, all rising upon one another and presenting the appearance of a beautiful fabric resting in mid-air with all its parts in nicely adjusted equilibrium. (See his *Comparative Grammar*, pp. 224 and 227, and note that all words marked there with an asterisk on the left are conjectural forms).

Beames in his turn brings down this airy mansion to the ground with a crash, but agrees that Trumpp was properly smashed as

he takes the further trouble to shew (*Comparative Grammar*, Vol. ii. pp. 252-259). In the light thrown by Hoernle, however, he abandons his old theory, supported by such written documents, and starts a new hare. This is the new hare, or the new cat of this Kilkenny affair :—

“ *Kaksa* becomes in Old Hindi *Kakha*, and the accusative *Kaksam* would become first *kakkham*, then *kakham*. As *kha*, like the rest of the aspirates, migrates into *ha*, a form *kaham* is legitimately presumable; whence, by shortening the vowel, we get the already established form *kaham*, with its variant *kahum*. I confess that this derivation approves itself to my mind in preference to any other.”

Unfortunately for this last straw to cling to, the present writer feels equally compelled to make a different confession, viz. that if the Sanskrit *kaksa* ever became in Old Hindi *kakkha* or *kakha* (Hoernle, the lender of the idea, is not sure on that point, *Gr.* p. 224, where the asterisks and their effect on the argument should be carefully noted), it could not have undergone further decay into *kaha*; for, if it did, it would have come down into modern Hindi either as *kaha* or in some form still more decrepit. But, as a matter of fact, it appears in modern Hindi as *kank* with the last *k* in good preservation (*Sabda-Kalpa-Druma*, S.V. *kaksa*). So, the supposed *kaha*, with the last *k* changed into *h* in a process of migration which has not reached the stage desired, goes out of the argument, and there is an end of the last straw.

What then remains? One might as well ask what remained of the Kilkenny cats. Nothing remained of them except the tails after the fight was over. Here, in the same way, nothing remains but a false and wholly unjustifiable impression that these suffixes have been scientifically proved to be Aryan, and that by no less than three scholars of note. Of course, the scholars were of note, but it is not remembered that they nullified one another.

It is plain that no amount of theorising in the way these great men have done, even if they stood together in favour of one theory, could account for the very wide prevalence of these postpositions or suffixes which find their parallel in extensiveness in their Tamil analogue *ku* and its cognates. It is now known as a scientific fact that, at the date of the coming of the Aryans, the whole of India was populated by various native tribes which, for the sake of convenience, are classed under the one comprehensive term “Dravidians,” in contra-distinction to Aryans.

With the influx of Aryan speech into the midst of these Dravi-

dian tribes, we can easily imagine a certain amount of linguistic unsettlement taking place in which the lower orders, with their usual freedom with grammar, would contribute a considerable share towards giving shape and character to the newly forming language as the speech of their adoption. At their hands the case-system would be one of the first things to receive attention and to undergo simplification to suit their style of handling the noun. The dual number had, of course, to go, and the dative being the case dearest to Dravidian hearts, it would necessarily occupy a large place in the new language, at the expense, to a very great extent, of others from the point of view of Aryan grammar. Beames, speaking of case endings, admits the general possibility of one ending dominating the rest: "It is the Darwinian principle," he observes, "of the survival of the fittest." (Vol. ii. p. 233).

(To be Continued.)



THE NINETEENTH FOOT IN CEYLON.

By the Late MR. J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G.

II.

(Concluded from Vol. IX, Pt. II, Page 101.)

THE DIARY OF COLOUR-SERGEANT CALLADINE, 19th Foot, 1793-1837. Edited by Major M. L. Ferrar, late The Green Howards, London. Eden Fisher & Co., Ltd., 95-97, Fenchurch Street, E.C., 1922. Price 7/6.

THE number of privates or non-commissioned officers of the British army of a century ago who were competent to keep a regular diary or troubled to keep one must be infinitesimal, and we think that Sergeant Calladine of the 19th Foot or "Green Howards," in having his *Diary* of over forty years' service with the regiment published eighty five years after he had made his last entry in it, occupies a unique position among that number. For its appearance now we have to thank Major M. L. Ferrar of the regiment, the editor of the regimental magazine, *The Green Howards' Gazette*.

Colour Sergeant Calladine, to quote the publisher's account of the book, was "more advanced in education than those of his class or of his comrades. He was of a keen and observant disposition, and made notes of all that he saw during his soldiering, which he describes in a natural and at the same time interesting style."

He was a native of Leicestershire, and enlisted in the Derbyshire Militia in 1810, and from that corps volunteered into the 19th Foot two years later. His *Diary* has a special interest for Ceylon, for he accompanied that regiment to Ceylon after another two years spent with the Militia, and served for six years in the Island, during which period the 19th. was engaged in helping to suppress the Uva Rebellion. Pages 34 to 78 of his *Diary* of 210 pages are devoted to his time in Ceylon.

Before he left England, Private Calladine came in contact with two officers who had been in Ceylon with the 19th., Major Lawrence the father of the great Lawrences, and Captain Thomas Aldersey Jones, who returned to the Island and died at Batticaloa in 1818.

They were successively in command of the depot at Hull to which he had been drafted. He confirms the opinion of Captain Jones which was expressed in general orders and the *Government Gazette* at the time of his death, and is reflected on his memorial tablet and tombstone. He was "a very strict, but still a very good commanding officer." Calladine was later in his company at Trincomalee and Batticaloa, and he notes further :

" Captain Jones was a very strict man, yet to a man that conducted himself with propriety he would give any reasonable liberties, but mind if you abused his liberty or took leave without asking, you might content yourself for a considerable time before you need give yourself the trouble to ask again, for he was no ways of a forgetful memory."

The ship that took out Calladine and more than 200 of his regiment to Ceylon was the ill-fated transport *Arniston*, and, curiously enough, it was on the first anniversary of the day on which they embarked that she was wrecked off the Cape, with all on board. For the six members of her crew who escaped happened to be in one of her boats at the time. It was on 30th May, 1814, that Calladine's detachment embarked, and it was on her return voyage on 30th May, 1815, that this disaster happened. On September 24 he and the other troops landed at Cape Town and marched into barracks, where they remained for over a month. Here they found two regiments of infantry, the 72nd. and the 83rd., the former of which had taken part nearly twenty years before in the expedition against Ceylon, while the latter was destined shortly to join the 19th in that island.

It was not until 13th January, (1815) that the *Arniston* sighted Galle harbour in which she anchored in order to land Colonel Young, who had acted as Commandant on board and who was taking the place of another Artillery officer, Colonel Wilson in command of the R.A. detachment quartered in the island. Owing to the strong currents, it took the ship another nine days to reach Colombo, where she anchored two or three miles from the Fort. Lieutenant Colonel Henry Hardy, who was then in command of the 19th in Ceylon, sent on board for the men a present of one day's fresh provisions, and next day they disembarked to find that the regiment was at Trincomalee. After a stay of two months at Colombo, Calladine with the detachment embarked for that station, on a "country ship," a small vessel called the *General Brown*, which took eighteen days to reach that port, owing to the strong currents—an

experience much the same as Cordiner's when he came over from Madras to the Island. The regiment had a bad time at Trincomalee during May and June, losing two officers and a number of men, "the stoutest and hardiest of our draft" included, to the number of four and five a day. Calladine had an attack of dysentery, "but, thank God....He was pleased to restore me to health, though I must needs say I but little deserved it."

He was a year at Trincomalee, and then went with his company, of which Captain T. A. Jones was in command, to Batticaloa. He was favourably impressed with Batticaloa, which he supposes "is one of the best, if not all out the best station on the Island." For it "is pleasantly situated by a fine river," and "all kinds of provisions were very reasonable, duty easy, liquor cheap and good, and we had all the indulgence that soldiers can expect....the time I lay at Batticaloa was as pleasant a time as ever I had so far enjoyed in the army." He made an endeavour to reform his ways, and naively says, "I belonged to a party who made it a regular rule never to commit any crime that we were afraid of." But the effort was not entirely successful, he admits with regret.

But in spite of this lapse he was made hospital orderly, and there after "began to be steady" though he "had not been in any way random before," with the result that he foolishly took it into his head that he would like to marry Mrs. Jones's servant, a widow, old enough to be his mother. From this course he was dissuaded by one of his officers, Lieutenant Forbes Robinson, and by the frivolous conduct of "the old lady" herself, but he had some difficulty in getting back the rings and silk handkerchiefs, bought with his savings, which he had given her, but through the good offices of the Fiscal (magistrate), who, at the instance of Lieutenant Robinson, made an informal adjudication of the matter, and with the help of Capt. Jones, he managed to get free and to recover the articles. "I was very glad I came off as well as I did, for I had nearly given it up for a bad job." The Sitting Magistrate was Lieut. James Bagnett, a retired officer of the 19th Foot.

Calladine, as he says, was not "in any way random," for he and other privates used to sell their arrack rations. "At Trincomalee and Batticaloa a man sold his two drams for seven pence a day, which we received in lieu of our beer money, so that in case a man was inclined to be saving he soon might muster together a

few rupees.....Every European soldier is served out with two drams a day in their rations." Arrack he describes as very much resembling Irish whisky.

But if the men or some of them, fortunately for themselves, abstained from arrack, it was not a rigid abstinence. A paragraph in the *Diary* gives us an insight into the amusements of Thomas Atkins in Ceylon a century ago.

"We had a very pleasant toddy drinking party at Batticaloa. Having leave for the day, a few pounds of jaggery (sugar), a few dozen of eggs, two or three bottles of rack, we would make the best of our way to the topes (groves of trees), and being snugly seated under the spreading branches of the trees, secured from the burning sun, we would get a large chatty on the fire, with six or eight quarts of toddy, and after mixing the rack, sugar and eggs, seat ourselves around each having a cocoanut shell, dip into the flowing bowl, and pass along the day in the greatest of pleasure, good company and hilarity."

He and his companions had some sport trying to catch an "alligator" in a tank by forming a line of men armed with long sticks with bayonets mounted on them, and in trapping a "tyger," as well as some excitement in escaping in a canoe during a thunder-storm from another "tyger" which kept abreast with them "along shore for two or three hundred yards, making a terrible noise." More serious matters sometimes engaged the men's attention. "During our stay at Batticaloa we had a singing party formed in the company, and every Sunday sang in church, and went over every week to practice in the minister's house, who gave us instructions and discoursed very seriously to us, but I don't think any of us paid much attention to his advice, more the pity." This must have been the Wesleyan missionary who succeeded the Rev. William Ault, who had died two years before.

Calladine sometimes wrote songs which were popular with the men, one because it extolled the exploits of Major Macdonald, and another "to the tune of Waterloo," with a refrain of "in the Kandian country," those of the regiment during the Uva campaign, "O'er Dombra's lofty mountains, and Welasse's watery plain." He was probably inspired by the verses of Captain Thomas Ajax Anderson. For writing one of them Lieutenant Robinson made him "a present of his German flute."

One of his amusements at Batticaloa was "plaiting brab for hats," for the same officer, and another boring "some thousands of small red berries with a little black spot on them, which we

called bird's eyes, for Capt. Jones's lady, for beads, and they looked very pretty when strung." These no doubt were *olinda* or in Tamil *kundumari* seeds. (*Abrus precatorius*).

It is very interesting to read of British soldiers in Ceylon making hats out of palmyra leaves, as some of the villagers of the Jaffna Peninsula and Delft Island still do. "*Brab*," which comes from the Portuguese, is the Bombay name for the palmyra palm. I have never known it used in Ceylon, and it is unknown in Bengal and on "The Coast" where the name for this tree is palmyra as in Ceylon, or fan-palm. It is curious that Calladine should have used the Bombay, and not the Ceylon or Bengal name. It was probably due to his hearing it used in Batticaloa and Trincomalee by the "Portuguese" of those places.

At this time the Uva Rebellion broke out, and one consequence was that the 19th Foot remained in Ceylon instead of returning to England on the arrival of the 83rd. Regiment from the Cape. Another was that the Batticaloa company, with Captains Jones and Langton and Lieutenant Robinson, proceeded into the Kandy country as far as "Kottabowa" (Katabowa, 47 miles south-east of Badulla), where it arrived on Nov. 6th, 1817, and where it lay encamped for a year or more, making raids into the surrounding country, against the neighbouring villages, including Bintenna, 16 miles distant and Hansanwella, about 6. The troops suffered much from sickness, leech bites, and occasionally a stray arrow from the enemy. Captain Jones had to be taken down to Batticaloa, with Calladine one of the escort, and died there on April 18, (1818); Captain Langton got ill at Ahapola, and was sent to Katabowa as out of danger on June 3rd., but died there on June 16th.

The Commandant of Batticaloa, Major Vallance of the 73rd and his wife shared the same fate. Calladine had himself been very ill, from "a bad yellow fever," which he says turned his body "nearly the colour of saffron," and "a very narrow escape" of his life.

After a march to Bintenna, there were between thirty and forty cases of leech bite which Calladine had to dress, and some of the men "were completely disabled from the bad ulcers, and several of them were afterwards invalided. One man had his leg and the greater part of his thigh amputated through the effects of the leech bites."

The showers of arrows that assailed the troops too were rather disconcerting. "One poor Malay came into camp with the blade of an arrow sticking in his head close by the back of his ear. The doctor told Captain Jones that he would soon have a dead man in the camp. I held the man's head between my knees, and the doctor, by main strength with the artillery knipper (with which they cut the port fires in two), pulled out the arrow, which was buried not less than between three and four inches in his head; but contrary to the doctor's expectations, there were very few drops of blood followed the blade, and the man, instead of dying, walked back the same day to Hansenwelle." On the return march, a private of the 19th, John Pearce, a Welshman, was killed by an arrow. Another private received a curious wound. "The man who shot the arrow must have been very near, as the arrow passed through both sides of his jacket and likewise through his neck, and the man did not know anything about it until he saw the arrow drop in a bush to his left. It was very fortunate for him that the blade of the arrow was not in a horizontal position or it would certainly have been the death of him."

"Fire-arrows" were sometimes found at night sticking into the tents and very nearly set fire to the camp.

The "tygers" too seem to have been aggressive, and one of them attacked a Caffre as he was cutting sticks at the river. "The ravenous creature made a spring at him and dreadfully lacerated his face and arms, but as he had a pretty good knife in his hand he made some severe cuts at the tyger which caused it to make its escape."

Calladine himself contracted fever and *berri-berri*, and found that the best remedy for the latter complaint, after a stay of one month at Batticaloa, was drinking arrack, "and as I had some money saved I had no necessity to stint myself, which I did not." But a month at Batticaloa had cured him of the fever, and he had brought it on again by "being out a toddy drinking one day." Lieutenant Robinson was so ill with fever that he had to be sent down to Batticaloa, then to Galle, and finally home. Calladine and six other privates were also sent to Galle to join the regiment, which was then quartered there. They made the voyage by a "*paddamar*" (*paduva*), and were nearly wrecked off Hambantota. "There were four of us on the outside....the rigtree....The outrigger was sometimes nearly perpendicular, and it was certainly wonderful it did not capsize altogether....At last the jib gave way and not one of the crew would go to it, but stood bawling and calling to Mahomet to save them. Drummer McGee went forward and held

by the block till some of the crew at last went to his assistance and made it fast. By the terrible rolling of the vessel the beams of the outrigger began to give way, and in case of either of them had worked out of the side we would have capsized immediately. But at this critical moment it pleased God to abate the squall, and we were able to keep her head to the wind and the beam was wedged fast." The British soldier on this as on other more important occasions saved the situation.

That night they anchored in "Belligham" (Weligama) Bay, and next day at noon arrived at Galle, which they found to be the headquarters of the regiment. He became orderly to Lt.-Colonel McBean who was then in command, and eventually his servant.

The Adjutant Lieut Hawker described the Colonel as "very old and almost childish and wanted somebody to be constantly looking after him." But Calladine held this post for a few hours only, for the Colonel sent him back to his duty for speaking to one of the native servants. Colonel McBean died shortly afterwards, aged 64 (15 Nov., 1819), and his tomb may be seen in the Dutch Cemetery at Galle.

In May of this year Calladine completed seven years' service with the 19th, and then "took on for unlimited service." He had made an attempt two months before to go home with Lieutenant Robinson and the invalids, who sailed in the *Princess Charlotte* at the end of February, but it was unsuccessful, though the Lieutenant used all his influence to get him also invalided. He had not quite completed his seven years, and no man could leave the country till his time was fully out. Lieutenant Robinson was very ill, but he recovered and joined the 20th Regiment with which he served until he was lost at sea while voyaging from Surat to Bengal on 7th. February, 1824.

In June 1819, the 19th. was relieved by the 45th., but the former regiment did not leave the Island until 7th. January, 1820, and meanwhile spent the time drafting men—220 altogether or half the strength of the regiment into the 73rd, 45th., and 83rd., the other English Regiment—then in Ceylon, and waiting for "the ships returning from Bengal" to take it home. Eventually the regiment got away in the *Maister*, and the Headquarters in the *Dick*. Calladine had been promoted Corporal on 24th. Oct., 1818, after seven years' service. He found the 72nd Regiment, which had taken part in the expedition against Ceylon, still at the Cape, where he had happened on it on his way out five and a half years before. The 83rd. had recently left the Cape for Ceylon. Both vessels'

the *Maister* and the *Dick*, took a little over four months on the voyage and found themselves together again off Margate on May 18.

At the disembarkation Calladine was put in charge of an officer, Lieutenant Wardell, who had become deranged and had tried to jump overboard, but whose bodily health must have been good, for he lived for more than a half century longer, surviving every other officer of the regiment who had served in Ceylon except one, Lieutenant William Lewis, the officer who in May, 1818, successfully defended the Atgala Fort, between Kandy and Matale against a force of some 2,000 Kandyans. Lieut. Lewis retired in 1820, and died in County Cork where his family resided, in 1883, aged 90 (*Laurie's Gazetteer of the Central Province*, page 963-4.) Two obvious mistakes in the printing of the account of this affair there quoted may be here corrected. "Captain Blunkingling" (twice) should be "Captain Blankenberg," and in the fourth line from the end of the letter, "volleying" should read "rallying." Lieut. Wardell, whose father served in Ceylon with the 66th Reg. and who at one time commanded the regiment, died in an asylum in 1871, aged 75.

Calladine spent eighteen months in barracks at Winchester, Romsey, Chatham and Weedon in Northamptonshire and then embarked with the regiment for Ireland. At Chatham in November, 1820, the regiment (but not the sergeant as he was on other duty), took part in "a grand sham fight on Chatham lines."

If it had been six years later it might have been the sham fight which Mr. Pickwick and his friends witnessed at the same place. "There was also a good number of respectable people on the ground, who appeared to be much pleased with the afternoon's manoeuvres." The Pickwickians, on the other hand, had no cause for satisfaction. But, alas, Mr. Pickwick came six years later, and the regiment he encountered was the 97th (which had at the time six Companies serving in Ceylon), and not the 19th. Calladine became a pay sergeant at Winchester, and again in Ireland, in which country he had two tours of service, with an interval in the north of England, and retired as colour sergeant in 1837. He was also hospital sergeant in Ireland, and remained there with the depot, when the regiment went to the West Indies, 1826. Colonel Hardy of Ceylon fame accompanied it, and Major Raper, who had also served through the campaign in Uva, remained in command of the depot.

Colonel Hardy died in Jamaica in 1835, and Sergeant Calladine is as eulogistic of him as were the Governor of that island and Captain Studholme Hodgson. He says, "Of all the men I ever heard of as Colonel of a regiment, no one received so high a character as he did; indeed he was the father of the regiment, visiting the sick, clothing the children, watching over the men in their barrack rooms to see that they were comfortable, taking care that they changed their linen and clothing when wet, taking women and children when sick to his quarters, and supplying them with everything that was requisite; indeed nothing escaped him—he was always on the foot, and ever looking after the welfare of them over whom he was placed. I have heard several sergeants say that he expended his own pay on the regiment in different ways of charity. What a pity he was not spared to bring the regiment home."

Calladine had been twenty-seven years in the 19th when he retired. He spent the rest of his life at Derby where he was for fifteen months master of All Saints' Workhouse, and then a collector of the poor rates. He died on 3rd August, 1875, aged 83.

There are in his *Diary* some interesting details respecting Ceylon officers. One of his commanders was Major Lockyer who had married a Dutch lady at Galle, a grand-daughter of Arnoldus de Ly, a former Commandeur of that station, she being the widow of another British officer. She had died five years before Calladine went to Ireland with Major Lockyer's company, and Major Lockyer, in less than a month after her death, had married again. The Major retired from the 19th. in 1824 while it was in Ireland, and went to Australia where, as already mentioned, he became the founder of Western Australia. While at Westport in 1824, Sergeant Calladine determined to pay a visit to the top of the famous rock in the neighbourhood called Croagh Patrick, and, in order to see the view from the top, he borrowed the Major's spy-glass. Now this telescope or field-glass was "the same that was found in the King's palace at Kandy when he was taken prisoner in 1815," and it bore on it the name of Lieutenant Berkeley Vincent of the 19th., who was killed near Mineri Tank in 1804 while serving with Captain Arthur Johnston's expedition on the retreat from Kandy. Quite possibly this "spy-glass" is still in existence in the possession of Major Lockyer's descendants in Australia. (He had at least three children, and he did not die until 1860 at the age of 76.)

Calladine in 1820 formed one of an escort which took a deserter from Winchester to Bristol, and spent a day at Bath *en route*. He had tea at the house of some friends of a brother non-commissioned officer in Rivers Street. He was to give these people

information about their son, who was in his regiment. "They were very inquisitive about his wife, whom he had brought from Ceylon with him, and was a half-caste." When he had satisfied their curiosity, "they informed me that Major General Jackson, who commanded Trincomalee at the time I was there, lived a few doors from them, and wanted me to go and see him, which I declined, as I thought it was rather too much for me to go and see a general officer, although we had been on foreign station at the same time." So, "after taking the share of a bottle or two of porter I took my leave of them, and as I went to the door one of the sons took the opportunity of slipping half-a-crown into my hand which you may depend on it I did not refuse, as there was seldom a day but what we exceeded our marching pay." Which episode—porter, half crown and sense of discipline—was characteristic of the British soldier.

Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Cosby Jackson of the 66th Regiment was in Ceylon from 1810 to 1816. He was a Commandant of Trincomalee in 1815, and was in command of the 3rd "Division" in the Kandyan War of 1815. He married a Miss Elizabeth Catherine Mitchell at Colombo in 1812. He died in 1827.

At Cork in 1825 Calladine spent two "very pleasant evenings" with the 78th Regiment, before it embarked for service. Its destination was Ceylon where it remained for a dozen or more years. There was great "cordiality and friendship" between the two regiments while at Cork.

Among the other Ceylon officers whom he mentions is Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Milne who joined the regiment with that rank in 1815, from another Yorkshire, regiment, the 15th (East Yorks.) and died in Demarara in 1827 while acting as Governor. The colours of the regiment were, at his request, buried with him. A brother officer says of him that "no man has ever been buried in the colony so universally and sincerely regretted." And Calladine describes him as "a very smart and efficient officer, and very capable of commanding a young regiment," as the 19th was soon after its return to England from Ceylon, nearly all the soldiers having been discharged at Chatham. He took command at Winchester, and six years later took out the regiment from Ireland to the West Indies. Then there was Major Macdonald, who has left his name in Ceylon as founder of the Fort Macdonald, and who succeeded

Colonel McBean in the command at Galle; Major Kelly of the 4th Ceylon Regiment, who took part in the three wars against the Kandyans, and in the last was in command of the "Division" that Calladine's company fell in with as soon as it got to Katabowa. It was just after this that discovery was made by the troops of "a great quantity of provisions and arrack" that had before the outbreak of the rebellion been taken from British escorts between Batticaloa and Badulla. The result was a big drink and a "great drunk draft." "A number of the men got very tipsy, and Captain Jones went into every tent to search out any that might be concealed. Major Kelly marched out in the afternoon, but he also had a number of men drunk, and some of the 2nd. Ceylon Regiment had to be tied to the bullocks' backs to get them away." We meet with other well-known names.

Major Huskisson, also of the 4th Ceylon, was during this campaign in command at Hansanwela, and concocted a scheme for capturing Kohukumbura Raterala which, though it was successful and brought him and the Malay officer who carried it out much credit, savoured rather of the mediaeval or oriental. Treachery was met by treachery. Captain De Bussche of the 1st. Ceylon, who wrote the book on Kandy, Captain Ritchie of the 73rd. took command at Katabowa in succession to Captain Jones. Captain Dobbin, whose name recalls his contemporary, the modest and faithful Captain who fought at Waterloo, and was in the end rewarded with the hand of the widowed Amelia. Our Captain Dobbin began his career as a volunteer with the 19th, had experience of rebels both in Uva and Ireland, and was thanked on three occasions in *General Orders* by Sir Robert Brownrigg. Captain Cox was Fort Adjutant at Trincomalee while Calladine was there, and was with his company at Tullamore when it was relieved by the company to which Calladine belonged. Captain Lenn. of the 2nd and 3rd Ceylon Regiments was in command of Mullaittivu when Calladine was at Trincomalee, and when Calladine next met him, in December, 1824, at Limerick and Rathkeale, he was an officer of his own Regiment. Captain Nihill appointed Calladine, as "an honest man," Pay Sergeant at Winchester. Lieutenant Burns was in command of the Grenadier Guards during the Uva campaign. (He also mentions Lieut. Tayloe, whose full-dress of the period is to be seen in the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution.)

Ensign Francis Tydd, in command of a detachment at Birr

in King's County (birthplace of the late Mr. W. E. T. Sharpe, a former Government Agent of the Central Province), to which county Tydd belonged. He won his commission in Ceylon, and died in Trinidad two months before Colonel Hardy.

Lastly there were two surgeons, Dr. Thyne at Katabowa and Dr. Lloyd at Pattipolaru who kept Lieutenant Tayloe company at Pattipolaru, but neither of them belonged to the 19th.

The impression that Calladine leaves is that he was an honest man, and always ready to confess his faults and repent of them as far as he knew how. His officers trusted him and gave him little indulgencies and as good billets as they could. He must have had some ability and perseverance as well as powers of observation to keep such a *Diary* under the difficulties and hardships that attended the life of a private a century ago. His *Diary* was well worth publishing and Major Ferrar has done a service to his regiment, the Army and historical research in arranging for its publication.



HOATSON'S SINHALESE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE AND MATERIA MEDICA.

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY T. PETCH.

(Continued from Vol. IX. Pt. III, Page 157)

The Wedarales in this part of the Island affirm that they have four varieties of what they call Premehey or Gonorrhœa.

1st. *Aghney premehey.*

A mucous discharge with a sense of heat and pain, occurring most frequently in women, eventually causing emaciation, and not infectious, arising from the heat of the climate.

2nd. *Ratta Premehey.*

A discharge of blood and matter from the urethra on the first appearance of the disease, occurring only in men. In three months, if the disease is left to itself, a constitutional affection takes place, ushered in with headache, fever, pains in all the bones, with a papular eruption on the fore-head and particularly on the under lip, which desquamates.

3rd. *Moula Premehey*, when in women *Kippa Premehey.*

The primary appearance of this variety is a discharge of a whitish colour from the urethra in men and vagina in females; when the urine is received into a vessel it appears as if it contained a mixture of flour which forms a sediment. Sores on the penis and a bubo often ac-

company this form of the disease. It is followed by a constitutional disease; the bones of the nose often become affected and ulcers form in the throat. The disease is infectious in both sexes.

4th. *Sarawe Premehey.*

The Leucorrhœa of Europeans.

Aghney premehey. The Wedarales consider this affection as an increased secretion induced by the heat of the climate, for the cure of which they give the following medicine, and enjoin cold bathing, particularly the chatty bathing.

Take of

<i>Aralu</i>	..	<i>Terminalia chebulic</i>
<i>Bulu</i>	..	<i>Terminalia beleric</i>
<i>Nelli</i>	..	<i>Phyllanthus emblic</i> , of each 20 Madara
<i>Ella-kiri</i>	..	Cow's milk, 1 measure

Pound the first three articles to a fine powder and mix into the milk, to which add 10 madara weight of honey.

1/7 of this quantity to be taken every morning for seven days.

If the disease disappears in less time, the medicine is to be left off and the bathing continued.

When the disease from a neglect of cleanliness and medicine not being taken in its first appearance, continues obstinate, the following remedy is given.

Take of

<i>Rata-ella-den-moutra</i>	..	Red Cow's urine....1 3/4 measure
Strain seven different times through a cotton cloth, then add		
<i>Aralu-kudu</i>	..	<i>Terminalia chebulic</i>
<i>Sine</i>	..	Soft Sugar....of each 20 madara, and mix.

1/7 of this to be taken every morning for 7 days. It operates as a gentle purge, procuring three or more stools. The patient is to be prohibited from bathing during the use of this medicine. The Wedarales sometimes use an injection for the cure of this complaint, composed of the juice of the following trees in equal quantities, viz :

<i>Attika-gaha</i>	..	—
<i>Khota dimbula gaha</i>	..	—

A kind of syringe made of a small bamboo is used to inject the liquor.

Ratta Premehey. The Wedarales consider this disease as not infectious and they say that it never occurs in women. For the cure they give the following remedies, with injunctions as to cleanliness.

Take of

<i>Aralu</i>	..	<i>Terminalia chebulic</i>
<i>Bulu</i>	..	<i>Terminalia belerica</i>
<i>Nelli</i>	..	<i>Phyllanthus emblic</i>
<i>Deve-dara</i>	..	Fir wood knot rasped down
<i>Khatu-wael battu</i>	..	—of each 5 kalanda.
<i>Mi-penni</i>	..	Honey....q. s.

Grind on a stone, and form a mass with the honey, to be divided into 7 pills, one pill to be given every morning in as much of the following decoction as will dissolve the pill.

Take of

<i>Nelli</i>	..	<i>Phyllanthus emblic</i> , 60 kalanda
<i>Wateru</i>	..	River water..8 measures.

Boil to one measure.

Chatty bathing is enjoined every morning after taking this medicine.

If after due perseverance this treatment does not prove successful, give the following :—

Take of

<i>Kitul-ra</i>	..	Jaggery tree toddy..one measure.
<i>Ratta-loonoo</i>	..	Shallots...a handful.

Free the shallots from the skins, cut them small ; then take an ash-coloured pumpkin, scrape out the inside through a hole made in one end, put the toddy and onions in this, and close up the hole in the end of the pumpkin and set it aside for seven days.

1/3 of this medicine to be given every morning for three days; the patient must eat one-third of the pumpkin after drinking one third of the liquor.

Moule Premehey or *Kippa Premehey*.. This form of the disease the Wedarales consider infectious, and is often accompanied by buboes in the groin and ulcers on the parts of generation.

When the disease consists merely of a discharge without any sores, a diluent plan of treatment is had recourse to ; premising a

purgative. The following is reckoned a good medicine and purges gently.

Take of

<i>Aehelle-potu</i>	..	<i>Cassia fistula</i> ..20 kalanda.
<i>Wal-tipili-mool</i>	..	<i>Piper longum</i> ..10 kalanda.
<i>Kalanduru-alla</i>	..	<i>Andropogon schænanthus</i>
<i>Khatu-wael-battu</i>	..	—
<i>Aralu</i>	..	<i>Terminalia chebulic</i> ..of each 10 kalanda.
<i>Wateru</i>	..	River water..8 measures.

Bruise in a rice pounder and boil to one measure.

1/3 of this quantity to be drunk every morning, sweetened with honey. The patient is ordered to bathe in cold water every morning, after taking the medicine.

The following is next tried, if the above fails to remove the disease,

Take of

<i>Adhatoda-mool</i>	..	<i>Justicia adhatoda</i> , 60 kalanda.
<i>Wateru</i>	..	River water..8 measures,

Bruise the root, and boil to one measure.

1/3 of this remedy is to be drunk every morning. The patient is prohibited from bathing during the use of this medicine. After the use of this medicine has been discontinued, bathing is then allowed.

The following is a remedy which the Wedarales reckon very efficacious in removing a gonorrhœa of an old standing.

Take of

<i>Tebu-mool-isma</i>	..	—
<i>Anasi-isma</i>	..	<i>Bromelia ananas</i> ..of each a tea cupful.
<i>Wedi-luni</i>	..	<i>Nitras Potassae</i> ..3 madara.

Mix these together, and put them into a young cocoanut which has been emptied of half its water. The cocoanut containing the mixture is then to be placed in a hollow made in the top of the stock or stem of an ash-coloured plantain tree, recently cut through in the middle, where it is to be left to remain for three days till the liquor ferments and forms a kind of toddy.

1/3 of this fermented liquor is to be drunk every morning for three days, or longer if found necessary.

When sores on the part of generation accompany this form of the disease, the following wash is recommended as having a good effect.

Take of

Kaduria-gedi-wellah-wateru — a teacupful.

Tala-tel .. *Ol. sesami orientalis*..a little.

Mix the oil with the watery fluid.

The sores are to be washed three times a day with this mixture.

The following is reckoned a good application to chancres or sores on the part of generation arising from whatever cause.

Take of

Kinihiria-kolla .. — a handful.

Kaha .. *Curcuma longa*.. $\frac{1}{2}$ a handful.

Detalle-mool .. (The root of the Talipot & Palmyra, equal parts)..20 madara.

Sahinda-lunu .. *Sal Ammoniac*..3 madara.

Rathnitol-mool .. *Plumbago rosea*..3 madara.

Nataraan-mool .. — a handful.

Tipili .. *Piper longum*..3 madara.

Wara-mool .. *Asclepias gygantica*..a handful.

Pound in a rice pounder; when well bruised a teacupful of *Tala-tel* is then to be added; when incorporated, the mixture is to be put into a chatty and boiled till it becomes a kind of unguent which will adhere to the fingers like half-melted rosin.

The sores are to be washed with the fresh juice of the plantain tree and then to be dressed with this unguent spread on cloth.

When the preceding form of the disease is accompanied by a bubo in the groin, one or other of the following topical applications may be made to the swelling.

Take of

Kaette-kaele-pothu-isma .. — a teacupful.

Hinete hal-pitti .. Rice flour..8 oz.

The juice is to be boiled and the flour is to be gradually stirred into it, so as to form a Cataplasm, to which add as much honey as will make of a proper consistence. This cataplasm is to be applied on cloth. The Wedarales call this application *Patoova*.

Another

Take of

Magul-karanda, etta, & mool *Dalbergia arborea*

Aralu .. *Terminalia chebulic*

<i>Inghuru</i>	.. <i>Zingiber.</i>
<i>Morunga-mool</i>	.. <i>Hyperanthera moringa</i>
<i>Sarna-mool</i>	.. of each equal parts.
<i>Bullock's Urine</i>	.. as much as will be sufficient with the other articles well bruised in a rice pounder to form a cataplasm, to which is to be added a small quantity of Wara-kiri. The bubo is to be covered with this application; as a discutient.

If these topical applications do not reduce the bubo in the course of a few days; the following is to be given internally.

Take of

<i>Kolang-kolla</i>	.. <i>Ocymum basilicum</i> .. a handful.
<i>Kalu-duru</i>	.. —
<i>Sudu-duru</i>	.. —
<i>Inghuru</i>	.. <i>Zingiber siccatum</i>
<i>Ingsal</i>	.. <i>Cardamum minus</i>
<i>Walanga-sal</i>	.. —
<i>Tipili</i>	.. <i>Piper longum</i> .. of each 20 madara
<i>Trustwael-mool</i>	.. <i>Convolvulus turpethum</i> .. 45 kalanda
<i>Sine</i>	.. <i>Saccharum sem.</i> 22½ kalanda.

Grind to a fine powder. This medicine when thus prepared is called Navaratne churme.

20 madara of this powder to be taken as a dose mixed with a little honey every morning for seven days and the topical application to the bubo to be continued. This medicine acts as a gentle purgative and is considered a good remedy when the constitutional form of the venereal makes its appearance with fever, pains in the bones, etc.

Salt, lime juice, jack fruit, natchereen, are prohibited from being eaten; the flesh of the elk is also forbidden during the use of this medicine.

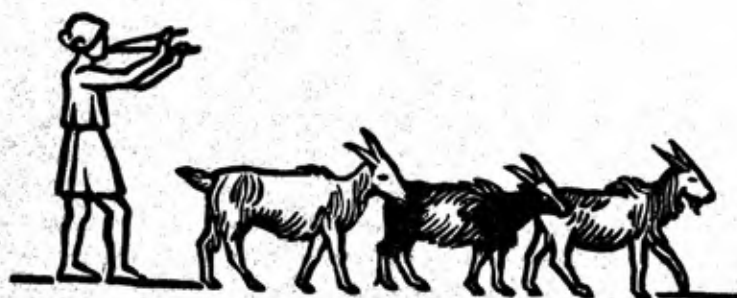
If the bubo, notwithstanding these medicines, suppurates, the matter is allowed to find its own way to the surface; the Wedarales never attempt the opening of a bubo. When it has been burst the sore is dressed with the application as made to chancres. If after a due perseverance in these remedies the sore shows no

disposition to heal, mercury is then given but never in such quantity as to salivate.

In cases wherein chancres, gonorrhœa, and bubo exist at the same time and in the same individual, the dressings and medicines as before mentioned are used for each separately, with a due attention to cleanliness.

The recent juice of the plantain tree is reckoned a good wash for sores on the part of generation, whether arising from venereal infection or from abrasion of the cuticle.

(To be continued.)



Notes & Queries.

SURGEON GEORGE BINGHAM.

By C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

WITH reference to Mr. P. M. Bingham's note (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IX, Pt. III. p. 166) enquiring about the above Officer who served in the Bengal Medical Service between 1784-1793, no reference about him can be found in Princep, for his book deals only with Madras Civil Servants and no more. So far as I have been able to make out, at present, no Officer of that name appears to have served in Southern India—i.e. Madras Presidency or Mysore.

PADDY CULTIVATION CEREMONIES IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCE.

By the late MR. J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G.,

THE following is a note I made at Nugawela, on 12th Feb., 1907, of information given me by the then Ratamahatmaya of Harispattu, and subsequently at other centres by other Ratamahatmayas.

Reaping. This is carried out in the early morning as far as possible, before the sun is very hot. It is done with the sickle. The men who do the work are accompanied by others (not necessarily of tom-tom beater caste) who beat a peculiar kind of tom-tom made of earthenware, which is known as a *bummediya*, and is only used on the occasion of reaping the crops or when the stick-dance is performed. The top of this tom-tom is closed with the skin of a *talagoya*. The reapers keep up a succession of joyous shouts or sing songs to the tom-tom accompaniment. The idea is that they are expressing their joy at at last obtaining the reward of their eight months' labours.

The Threshing Floor. Seven concentric circles are drawn on the threshing floor with ordinary ashes. In the centre are deposited three articles, viz. *arukgala*—a stone to ward off the demon Bahirawaya, *arukpola*—a coconut, and *aruklella*—a shell of chank shape. Figures of various agricultural implements, an *ukunu gaha* or stick used on the threshing floor, a sickle, a *goyilella* (a T-shaped stick or rake), a *kohomba poruwa*, a *laha* measure, etc., and of the sun and moon, are drawn between the circles.

There is no stake in the centre, as in Low-country threshing floors.

In Uda Dumbara the seven concentric circles are also used, also the *arukgala*, *aruklella*, *arukpola* and *kohomba poruwa*. Sometimes *tolabawa* leaves are used to mark the inner circle, but this is not done frequently.

In Uda Bulatgama seven circles are used when the operations are extensive; three when they are on a smaller scale.

In Uda Palata three circles are now generally used instead of seven. They are less trouble. This probably means the gradual dying out of these ceremonies.

The paddy is carried to the threshing floor by women, but the first sheaf must be carried by a man. He walks three times round the circle—sometimes seven times—and then deposits the sheaf in the centre over the *arukgala*, *arukpola* and *aruklella*, and having done so bows to it. Then three women in line encircle it three times and deposit their sheaves—after that the rest of the women promiscuously.

Threshing. This takes place at night, generally on moonlight nights. This is because the buffaloes cannot work on a threshing floor during the heat of the day. They can work in the paddy fields because there is water all about, and they can be splashed with it occasionally. (At least this was the explanation given me.) They are yoked together in gangs of from three to six, with the oldest and best trained buffalo on the inner side, and they go round and round in gangs, the men or boys who drive them singing snatches of songs in the peculiar loud voice that is used when buffaloes are being driven. The whole guidance of the team depends on the innermost buffalo.

No attempt is made to prevent the buffaloes from helping themselves to the paddy stalks they are treading, and this they

do from time to time. The cultivators have an idea that they lose nothing by this liberality; that what the buffaloes eat is no loss to them. A similar belief prevails as to the depredations of sparrows in the paddy when it is stored in the *atuwa*.

As the threshing goes on men toss the paddy stalk about with a stick having a crook at the end of it. This stick is called *ukunu gaha*.

Any stalks that fall outside the circle or get trodden outside it are arranged in a ring round it, leaving a space between the outer circle and the ring.

CLIMATIC CONDITIONS IN ANCIENT CEYLON.

By H. JAMESON.

A chapter of *The Evolution of Climate*, by C.E.P. Brooks, on the "Classical" rainfall maximum, 1800 B.C. to A.D. 500, might be of some interest to students of Ceylon history.

In this chapter is summarised the evidence that there was a "Pluvial" period, or a period of great humidity and rainfall, over the greater part of the temperate regions of the northern hemisphere, at a time whose extreme limits are given by 1800 B.C. and A.D. 400 or 500. This pluvial period was best developed from 1200 B.C. to A.D. 200, and reached its maximum about 400 B.C.

The evidence is partly geological, (the peat-bog formations of parts of Western Europe being cited), partly historical and archaeological, while, for part of North America, it is based on the measurements of the annual tree-rings of the Californian *sequoia*.

The states of the Graeco-Roman civilization are supposed to have grown up in a period of comparative quiet and prosperity, caused by abundant rainfall, their decline being caused, or accelerated, by the secular decrease in this rainfall, which resulted in an increase in malaria, among other evils.

The great cities of Northern Africa are cited as evidence of better climatic conditions at the time of their formation; and in the great aqueducts of Palmyra, in Syria, built to deliver water now no longer found there, the author finds incontrovertible proof of a deterioration in climate since their construction.

In Persia, too, there are the ruins of great cities, with irrigation works where running water is now never found. The author finds it difficult to believe that the population, indicated by the size of these cities, could have existed without a much greater supply of water than the present rainfall gives. The same conditions are indicated by the ruined cities of the great deserts of Central Asia. Professor Huntingdon has studied the water level of the Caspian in classical times, and finds that there was a period of high water, ending about 400 A.D.

Mr. Brooks limits himself to the consideration of the temperate regions of the northern hemisphere, but do not Ceylon history and archaeology appear to indicate that pluvial conditions also extended into this part of the tropics? The original Sinhalese invaders are reputed to have landed in Ceylon about B.C. 543, and the northern part of the island—had it appeared then as it does now—could hardly have presented many attractions to would-be settlers. The ruins of North Africa, Central Asia and Persia seem to be paralleled by Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa.

Even now the annual average rainfall of Anuradhapura is nearly 55 inches, of which, however, over 29 inches fall in three months of the year. It would be interesting to know whether the number and capacity of the ancient tanks indicate a greater rainfall at the time of their construction, and whether there is any evidence, from the old records, that the climate of the north of Ceylon has deteriorated within historical times. Might not the continued invasions of the Malabars have been due to a progressive deterioration in the climate of their own country, which slowly became unable to support its population?

My own knowledge of Ceylon history and archaeology is very superficial, and I put forward these ideas, for what they are worth, for consideration by serious students of these subjects.

ATKINSON IN CEYLON SERVICES.

By the late MR. J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G.

WITH reference to the Notes on this subject (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V, pp. 153, 210) there appear to have been, besides Edward, three other Atkinsons, viz :—

(1) **George Atkinson**, a civil engineer, was with William Boyd at the Pearl Fishery in 1802. He was appointed "Surveyor General and Civil Engineer, *vice* Jonville," 12 June, 1805.. He retired in January, 1811, and left Ceylon by the *Earl St. Vincent*, Mrs Bertolacci being also a passenger. He was living in 1837.

(2) "**Mr Atkinson, Junior** Ensign of the Pioneer corps," with his Pioneers, took part in the operations under Captain Buchan at "Catoone" in the Matara District in September, 1804, being "Bridge Master." He resigned in May, 1805. I suggest that he was a son either of Edward or George Atkinson, hence the reference to him as "Mr. Atkinson, Junior."

(3) **Joseph Atkinson** was appointed "Superintendent of Steam Engines and Machinery, and of the Oil Mills, Colombo," 1st September, 1813, and "Superintendent of the Rice Mills, Batticaloa," 1814-16. Presumably he was the same as the J. Atkinson who was appointed Sitting Magistrate, 1st June, 1814, and Land Surveyor, 1816-8; who succeeded Hendrik F. Hepner as District Surveyor, Jaffna. But, if so, he can hardly have been the same as the J. Atkinson who was Assistant to the Collector of Colombo from 1816 to 1818, and was acting Collector from 1st March, 1817 to 1st January, 1822, when he retired. It was the last J. Atkinson who bought for Government "the House at Hultsdorf" for 4,500 Rix-dollars, repairs of which were to cost 2,200 Rix-dollars. (So say my notes, imperfectly recorded, but Mr. L. J. B. Turner no doubt can throw light on the subject.)

His daughter, Louisa Abigail Bletterman, (whose godfather or godmother evidently was Mr. Egbert Bletterman, the Post-master General, or his wife), by his wife Louisa Abigail, was baptized at Colombo on 1st September, 1818. The parents were married at Marylebone Church, 30th September, 1811.

ILANAGA'S CHARIOT OXEN.

By L. N. G.

[A song of welcome supposed to have been sung by the people of the capital when King Ilanāga returned from exile after the revolt of the Lambakannas. He drove into the city in a chariot drawn by his enemies. (See John M. Senaveratna, *The Story of the Sinhalese*, Vol. II., page 93.)]

Welcome to the royal exile,
Welcome to King Ilanāga,
Brought back to the throne of Lanka
Drawn by vanquished Lambakannas—
 Ilanāga's Chariot oxen.

Little thought he when he bade them,
Bade the haughty Lambakannas
Work with Rodiyas, building roadways,
That they'd work for Ilanāga
 As his harnessed chariot oxen.

When the furious Lambakannas
Captive took King Ilanāga,
Merciless they ruled and scourged us—
Who now whips the Lambakannas?
 Whips the noble chariot oxen?

When the war beast broke the doors down,
Mounting him fled Ilanāga,
Rescued by his wife's devotion
From the drunken Lambakannas
 Who are now his chariot oxen.

In the battle all about him,
Piles of heads saw Ilanāga;
Round his chariot wheels they heaped them—
Heads of conquered Lambakannas,
 Brothers of his chariot oxen.

Wearied with the ceaseless slaughter,
"Slay them not" said Ilanága,
"Take them living"—then they seized them,
Seized the noble Lambakannas
To become his chariot oxen.

Coming to his palace gateway,
"Slay them here" cried Ilanága;
But his mother spoke and saved them—
"Wilt thou slay these Lambakannas
Who are but thy chariot oxen?"



Literary Register.

VISITORS TO CEYLON IN EARLY BRITISH TIMES.

IN February, 1812, a visit to the Island was made by Captain Thomas Graham, R.N. and his wife Maria, a daughter of Rear Admiral George Dundas. She had sailed with her father for India in 1808 at the age of twenty-three, and she married Captain Graham in the following year. She was a friend of Sir James Mackintosh who was at that time Recorder of Bombay. Sir James himself paid a visit to Ceylon in the same year, arriving at Galle about a week after the Grahams, and returning to Bombay on March 15th., in the same ship that took away the Grahams, the Honourable Company's cruiser, the *Prince of Wales*. Sir James made notes of his Ceylon trip in his *Diary*, and Mrs. Graham related her experiences in the Island in a book which she published in 1812, called *A Journal of a Residence in India, 1809-1811*, but, curiously enough, I do not think that either writer mentions having met the other during their Ceylon sojourn or on the voyage back to Bombay.

Mrs. Graham had some literary capacity, and was later the author of *Little Arthur's History of England*, a book which had a considerable vogue in the era of "Sandford and Merton," and procured for the author a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Captain Graham died in 1822, and, in 1827, she married the artist, Augustus Wall Callcott, R.A., who was knighted in 1837. She died on 28th November, 1842.

Her *Journal of a Residence in India* is illustrated with some fine engravings from sketches made by the author. It was an expensive book, and is now apparently very rare, which accounts for the British Museum copy of it being in the "North Library" of that institution. As it is not easily accessible to Ceylon readers, it may be permissible to give some extracts from it here. The existence of this book with a considerable section devoted to Ceylon

does not seem to be generally known. It contains an engraving of the rock by the sea at Beruwala on which quarters were erected for the accommodation of the Grahams.

GALLE.

VOYAGE TO GALLE: They arrived at Galle on 16th February, 1810.

"We came here in an eight hundred ton Country Ship. The only Europeans are the Captain, three officers and the Surgeon; the gunners and Quarter-masters, of whom there are ten, are Indian Portuguese—they are called Secunnies. The best lascars are Siddies, a tribe of Mohammedans, inhabitants of Gogo in Guzerat. The ship is built of teak wood. The masts are of *poon*, which though lighter than the teak is cumbrous compared with European timber."

GALLE.—Mrs. Graham has some descriptive remarks on the Town and Fort:—

Feb. 16. "Point de Galle is an old Dutch fort, very much out of repair, and not worth making better. It is very neatly kept, and has a cheerful air, from the rows of trees planted on each side of the streets. There are not above six English families resident here, but at present a much greater number are collected, as the fleet is assembled here for convoy, and to take in spices on the voyage home. I walked to the beach this morning to see the last of the homeward-bound ships; two and twenty sail got under way at daybreak..." (Exactly a week later Sir James Mackintosh, from the deck of the *Prince of Wales*, was watching another fleet leave Galle, on one of the vessels convoyed by which were his wife and family.)

"The appearance of the land about this place is beautiful; the hills and valleys, mountains and woods, with the projecting rocks about the roadstead; the old Dutch Fort and the shipping make a most delightful landscape." (The rows of trees in the Fort streets were a legacy from the Dutch who always planted their settlements in this way; the old *suriya* trees along the ramparts are perhaps all that remain of these trees.)

WELIGAMA: February, 18th. "Went to Belligam to see the Buddhist temple...None but open carriages are used in Ceylon; we therefore went in bandies, in plain English, *gigs*." They went with the Maha Modeliar, who provided breakfast at the Rest House. "The table was covered with costly plate—all his property. The recumbent figure of Bhud is 28 feet long."

The party also went to see the "Cotta Rajah, a conqueror from the main land of India...whose adventures are blended with magical wonders."

GALLE-CHINA TOWN: They also "went to see a little colony of Chinese near the Fort; they were brought here by the government as gardeners, for none of the Europeans who have possessed Ceylon have yet been able to raise vegetables. The gardeners have built themselves very neat houses in the garden."

They left Galle on February 19th. for Colombo, and were accompanied by "Mr. and Mrs. —, inhabitants of Colombo, upon whom the Maha Modeliar always attends in their journeys." (Here again they were nearly a week ahead of Sir James Mackintosh, who travelled from Galle to Colombo on the 26th.) The gentleman who was always accompanied by the Maha Mudaliyar on his journeys was probably the Collector or Commissioner of Revenue of Colombo. Who was the Collector of Colombo at this time? Sir James Mackintosh tells us that some of "the fashionable world of Colombo" had come to Galle just at this time "to enjoy the Ceylon jubilee during the stay of the fleet," and among them was Mr. Alexander Wood, who was Commissioner of Revenue at Colombo in 1803-5, had been home to England and come out again, and had resumed his position and again become Commissioner (or Collector) of Revenue at Colombo. It was he who entertained Sir James on his arrival at Galle, put him up at his house at Colombo and got up for him the kraal staged by tame elephants, beyond Negombo. He certainly did things in great style, as is shown also in the accommodation and the facilities for travelling that he provided for the Grahams.

GALLE TO COLOMBO.

The road to Colombo was decorated, and lights were provided at night. "Under the Dutch Government the inhabitants of the villages were required to furnish provisions and koolies to carry both the palankeens and baggage of travellers without hire, but the English pay punctually for everything of this kind."

The first stage was to "Heccadua, a considerable village, near which is a broad river," over which they were taken "on a stage erected on three small boats, with a canopy of white cloth surrounded with leaves and flowers."

In the afternoon they proceeded to "Ambolamgodda," and "stopped half a mile from it to look at a magnificent lake formed by a large river which descends from the Candian country. The Candians frequently come down this river to barter betel nut, rice and precious stones, for salt and other necessaries." (It is curious to reflect that at that time Major Davie was still a prisoner at Kandy.)

There was "a long wooden bridge over the stream. We found what we supposed was the militia of the place drawn up to receive us. Three or four old bayonets stuck upon sticks, as many bear spears, old pikes and weapons without names composed the ragged armour of the ragged crew, and a Madras bed-cover fluttering on a pole served for a standard." (The bridge was the Balapitimodara bridge.)

They had dinner at the Rest House, consisting of fish and "part of a wild hog." "The coast abounds with a quantity of good fish; domestic quadrupeds require feeding at great expense owing to the scarcity of fodder; but the poultry is excellent and the woods assuredly furnish wild hogs, venison and jungle fowl, birds, wild ducks and teal. The fruits are the best I have seen in India of their kind; they are the pine apple, the pamplemousse or shaddock, the plantain and the orange... The bread here is extremely good, and the butter made in private houses only inferior to that in England. The supply of vegetables is very scanty; potatoes and onions are imported from Bombay; and sometimes, but very rarely, cabbages and peas are brought from Bengal."

KOSGODA: February 20th. "Cossgodda, a small village... saw a Wanderou on the top of a cocoa-nut tree, where he was getting nuts."

BENTOTA AND BERUWELA: "Bentot... remains of a Dutch fort and town....on the bank of a very beautiful river."

February 21st. "BARBAREEN...left Bentot after breakfast, and arrived at Barbareen about two o'clock."

The bungalow here was built for them by the Maha Modeliar "on the top of a bold projecting rock." Mrs. Graham made a sketch of this rock and bungalow, which forms the subject of the engraving. (The latter has under it the letters, "M.G. del." in one corner and in the other the words "Etched by James Stover.")

February 22nd. **CALTURA.** She notices the "Old Dutch fort, commanding a most beautiful view." The travellers breakfasted "in a small bungalow on the seashore." The same day they reached Colombo, at about 2 o'clock.

COLOMBO.

March 1st. "We have now been here some days, and I am so delighted with the place and with the English society here, that if I could choose my place of residence for the rest of the time of my absence from England, it would be Columbo. We generally drive out before breakfast in a bandy, and go sometimes through the Fort which is very pretty. It is immediately between the sea and the lake, and only joined to the mainland by a causeway on each side of the water; and sometimes we go to the Cinnamon gardens, which are at the opposite side of the lake."

MOUNT LAVINIA : "We joined a large party on an excursion to the Governor's country house—Mount Lavinia. It is a charming residence ; it literally overhangs the sea, and has all the beauty that hill and valley, wood and rocks, with a beautiful beach and a fine open sea, can give. The interior though not very large is very pleasant ; a long gallery looks towards the sea ; the rooms on the other side command some pretty hills, the sides of which form fine lawns ; and in the valley are palm trees which hide all the farm offices, and afford shelter to a collection of animals of the deer and elk kind, from the interior of the island, and from the opposite coast of India. Today, by himself, we remarked an animal not less beautiful than terrible, the wild bull, whose milk white hide is adorned with a black flowing mane."

She noticed the furniture as being made of "the toon or country mahogany, which comes from Bengal," as well as some made of "the calaminda, whose dark and light veins alternately shew each other to the greatest advantage." (Sir James visited Mount Lavinia just about this time.)

NEGOMBO.

March 6th. "This day was devoted to an excursion to Negombo. "After breakfasting in a pretty bungalow on the way, we were joined by the Collector of the district, a learned and ingenious man, and Mr. Daniel the painter, whose printed views of Ceylon you have seen." (I am not certain who the Collector of Negombo was ; Henry Augustus Marshall, who was certainly "learned," was the Provincial Judge and may have had revenue duties, too. Samuel Daniell was the artist who was a protegee of Sir Thomas Maitland's, and was the brother of William Daniell, R.A. and nephew of Thomas Daniell, R.A. In 1808 he published in London *A Picturesque Illustration of the Scenery, Animals and Native Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon, in Twelve Plates Engraved after Drawings from Nature*. He died on 16th December, 1811, and is buried in the Pettah Burial Ground. There is a biography of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. See *List of Inscriptions*, p. 388.)

"Negombo has a ruined fort situated on the sea-shore near a small lake. Like most of the old towns in Ceylon, it is very picturesque, being interspersed with trees and fruit gardens. We slept in the Rest House."

THE NEGOMBO KRAAL. "March 7th. Set off by palankeen for the elephant kraal, sixteen miles from Negombo, and within half a mile of the Candian frontier." (This was the kraal got up by Alexander Wood, the Commissioner of Revenue at Colombo, for Sir James Mackintosh and described by the latter in his *Diary*. It was a sort of rehearsal of a kraal, for it was carried out with tame

elephants, as there were no wild elephants just at that moment available. Sir James and Mrs. Graham agree about the distance of the scene of the Kraal from Negombo, but he says the distance from the Kandyan frontier was "a mile or two." It was probably somewhere near Dambadeniya. I am inclined to think that by the Collector of the District mentioned by Mrs. Graham is meant the Commissioner of Revenue of Colombo, i.e. Mr. Wood, and not a Collector of Negombo. He was ingenious as well as learned, and gave an exhibition of the former quality in devising this full dress imitation of a kraal.)

Mr. DANIELL, THE ARTIST, AT THE KRAAL: The Collector and Mr. Daniell were at the Kraal—"We left Mr. Daniel at the Craal, where he intended to stay some time in search of subjects for his pencil. To defend himself from the bad effects of his sylvan life, he makes and lights great fires within and without his tent." (Where Mr. Graham says "sylvan" we should now-a-days say "jungle.")

The Grahams returned to Colombo next day, March 8th.

THE CEYLON CLIMATE. Mrs. Graham remarks.—"The coast of Ceylon is generally healthy, but none of our troops have been able to stand the noxious effects of a campaign in the jungle."

THE PEOPLE. "The general appearance of the Cingalese is coarser than that of the natives of Bombay and the adjacent coast, and they wear less clothing in general. . . . Neither sex wears any clothing above the waist excepting when they become household servants to the Europeans, when they put on a jacket. The Cingalese houses are better constructed than those of the same class of natives in Bombay, owing perhaps to the necessities of the climate, which is more damp and variable."

MOPLAHS IN CEYLON. The name of Moplah has acquired a most sinister import of late, and it is startling to find Mrs. Graham stating that, when she visited the Island over a century ago, "The fishermen and boatmen of Ceylon are chiefly Mahomedans called Moplahs, from the Malabar Coast." The statement can hardly have been correct.

THE PITCHER PLANT. Mrs. Graham describes the pitcher plant, which she imagines to be "the plant which Chateaubriand introduces in his charming poem of Gertrude, as the 'lotus-horn.'"



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— BY —

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